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THE MANOR OF GARDINER'S ISLAND*

THE first English settlement within the present limits of the State of New York was founded under circumstances of peculiar and romantic interest. Its site was an island, four miles from the eastern extremity of Long Island—a little woodland gem in a wilderness of waters. It was nine miles long by one and a half miles wide, containing some three thousand five hundred acres. This entire island was purchased by Lion Gardiner from the Indians, with all the usual ceremonials of such transactions, and the purchase duly confirmed by the agent of Lord Stirling on the 10th of March, 1639. The new land-holder proceeded at once to erect a comfortable dwelling-house, of which he took possession, with his wife and two children, the younger an infant daughter, in the early summer of the same year. This well-considered and deliberate choice of a permanent private residence, full thirty miles from the nearest European neighbor, reads upon the truthful records, as we are well aware, like the fanciful castle-building of the writers of fiction.

Before tracing the growth and development of the picturesque island into a productive manorial property, the fact is worthy of notice that it has been longer in possession of one family than any other individual estate on this continent, having had twelve proprietors in the direct line, even to the present hour. Its early history is rich in Indian legend and old-time tales of love and sacrifice. No portion of our country was so persistently frequented by pirates and ocean rovers. No point so completely exposed to foreign enemies in times of war. The manor-house now standing upon the island was built in 1774 by David Gardiner, the sixth proprietor, one hundred and thirty-five years after the original settlement. The estate had then become a garden of beauty. From eighty to one hundred dependents kept it trimmed and blooming. Great fields of oats, wheat, and other grains, made graceful obeisance to the sickle. Some two thousand loads of hay were stored in its barns every autumn. Three hundred or more cattle grazed in its sunny pastures; and five times as many sheep—with

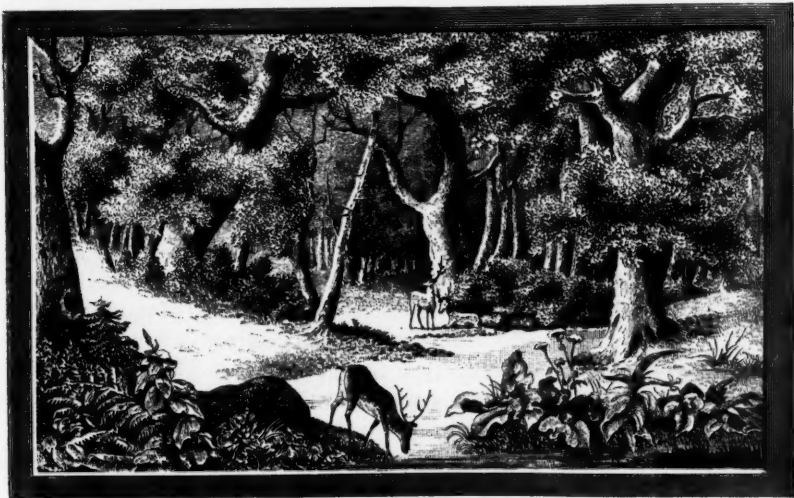
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an annual yield of a dozen thousand pounds of wool. The dairy produced butter in large quantities, and the cheese averaged as many as one hundred and twenty pounds per day for the season. The lord of the island rarely stabled less than sixty horses, the finest in the country. He raised annually one hundred or more hogs. Wild turkeys hovered about in great numbers, coming to the yards daily to be fed with the tame fowls; and a large herd of deer roamed at will among the fine old trees which would have done credit to any English park.

The founder of the manor of Gardiner's Island was one of the heroic few who, leaving a land of plenty and luxury, faced perils known and unknown with steady nerve, and finally in an unbroken forest projected the industries of a continent. It would almost seem as if our first settlers were gifted with prophetic vision as they entered upon the duties of American citizenship. We are compelled to admire their self-poise, and we need, particularly if we would avoid an incomplete education, an intelligent understanding of their leading characteristics. It is impossible to over-estimate the influence of each original settlement upon the present character of our people. Nor are we in any danger of cultivating too high a respect for the simple beginnings of our vast, rich, and progressive country. The career of Lion Gardiner is less conspicuous than that of some of his contemporaries; yet no man of the obscure period in which he lived was imbued with more personal independence, or radiated an influence more healthful and enduring. He was a professional engineer, the first who ever stood upon the soil of New England. He was by birth and breeding an Englishman, but he had breathed the republican atmosphere of Holland at a time when rights of conscience were not recognized elsewhere in Europe, and had imbibed principles of constitutional law and liberty which his energy and genius could adapt to the exigencies of life in the new country. He landed in Boston on a cold, bleak, blustering, November morning in 1635. He was thirty-six years of age, of fine military presence, well proportioned although slightly under the average height, with quiet face, eyes keen, intelligent and deep-set, and the manners and bearing of a gentleman. He was expected, and received a warm welcome from Governor Thomas Dudley, and from the ex-governors, and deputy governors, and future governors of much governed Boston, of whom were present John Winthrop, John Endicott, Simon Bradstreet, Sir Henry Vane, John Haynes, Roger Ludlow, Richard Bellingham, and the younger John Winthrop—an exceptional group of gubernatorial lights for one little town not quite five years old. The younger Winthrop had just returned from Europe with his commission to govern a new commonwealth—embracing the greater portion of the

present State of Connecticut and extending westward to the Pacific Ocean—which he had received from a company of English noblemen who had become dissatisfied with the conduct of affairs under the graceful but erring monarch, Charles I., and had obtained a patent for this broad extent of territory, intending permanent removal to America.

The leaders of the enterprise included such notables as Oliver Cromwell, John Hampden, Sir Matthew Boynton, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Sir Arthur Heslerigge, Lord Say and Sele, Lord Brooke, afterward Earl of



WOOD SCENE.

Warwick (the ancestor of the present Earl who occupies Warwick castle, so familiar to all traveling Americans) and Colonel George Fenwick. They had not only made choice of a governor but had employed Lion Gardiner as a competent engineer to precede them to America, for "the drawing, ordering, and making of a city, towns, and forts of defense." The site of a city of castles and palaces, "to be rendered suitable for the reception of men of quality" had already been selected at the mouth of the Connecticut River. Lion Gardiner was to be its "engineer, architect, and builder," and was to have "three hundred able-bodied men" under his control—two hundred as a garrison, fifty to till the ground, and fifty to build houses. He was employed to command the post four years, subject to the direction of Governor Winthrop. Supplies needful for his purposes were to be for-

warded from England as the work advanced. As this was an important trust in connection with the beginning of empire in a new world, the inference is that Gardiner was known to possess the requisite qualifications. His family have been traced by Sir Thomas Christopher Banks to the Gardiner who married one of the co-heiresses of the ancient Barony of Fitzwalter. His education was exceptional for the period; and his taste for mathematics had resulted in the study of civil and military engineering. He had been in the English army as an officer under Sir Thomas Fairfax, seeing much active service; and his skill as an engineer had attracted the notice of Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, who made him "Master of Works of Fortifications" at his camp in the Netherlands. It will be remembered that in the course of the famous conflict between the Protestants and Catholics, which engrossed the attention of the whole civilized world in the early part of that remarkable century, the treaty of alliance between England and the United Netherlands, concluded through much astute diplomacy to worry Spain, brought the armies of the two nations into military association; and also that loosely as the little Dutch States were tied



SILVER BUTTON.*

together in their struggle for freedom they had already been raised to the rank of a great power, and their army had become one of the standard schools of military art to which warlike students flocked for instruction from every Protestant country in the Old World. Thus it must have been a deserved honor, when an Englishman was placed at the helm of defense manufacture in Holland, by a great general bred to the science of war and commanding in a

contest the like of which no people in human history every waged against a foreign tyranny.

While Lion Gardiner was serving under the Dutch flag he was in constant and familiar intercourse with the celebrated Hugh Peters, and the eminent London divine, Rev. John Davenport, who with numerous English Dissenters had found an asylum, and founded a Protestant Church in Rotterdam. They were both enlisted in the famous project of exodus to the banks of the Connecticut River, and urged Gardiner to accept the offer of the patentees. Davenport soon after sailed for America, and was one of the founders of New Haven, preaching on the 18th of April, 1638—the first Sunday after his arrival—under an oak tree; and he was one of the "Seven Pillars" chosen to support the civil government of the

* The silver button of the above sketch was worn by Lion Gardiner while "Master of Works of Fortifications," under the Prince of Orange. The translation of the motto is "Long life to the Prince of Orange." Copied for the Magazine from the original button.

New Haven Colony. In the meantime, while stationed in the vicinity of the city of Woerden, Gardiner made the acquaintance of Mary Wilemsen, a Holland lady of gentle birth and varied excellencies, whom he married and brought with him to this country. Their nuptials were celebrated at Woerden on the 10th of July, 1635. They proceeded at once to London, whence they sailed for Boston in the Norsey bark *Batchelor*, Thos. Webb, master, a vessel provided by the Company, of only twenty-five tons burden, in which they were tossed on the rough waves from the 11th of August until the 28th of November—three months and seventeen days. Mrs. Gardiner was attended by a French maid-servant, Elizabeth Colet, and there was one other passenger on the voyage. The officers and crew numbered eight.



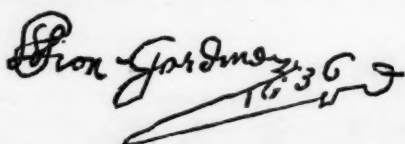
GARDINER'S ISLAND MANOR-HOUSE. BUILT IN 1774.

And these twelve souls were consigned to a miniature craft, much less in size than the ordinary yacht of to-day, and about as fit to cope with the perils of the Gulf Stream and the net-work of unseen currents caused by the wind and the tides as a Dutch cradle. No wonder Winthrop wrote of it in his journal: "Her passengers and goods are here all safe through the Lord's great Providence."

The presence of an able engineer in Boston roused the people to secure his experienced services in completing a fortress for their protection against savage foes. Up to that hour Boston was without any fort, save the mere suggestion of one commenced with a few rusty cannon. It was agreed that every citizen should contribute fourteen days' labor—or money to the same effect; and a committee consisting of the two Winthrops, Sir

Henry Vane, and several ex- and deputy governors more or less, was chosen to carry out the design. Gardiner donated his services, and all Boston worked on the structure, which speedily took form and shape. It was admirably adapted to its purposes, and continued in use until after the Revolutionary war.

Meanwhile the younger Governor Winthrop had sent a force of twenty men under Lieutenant Gibbons, afterward Major-General of Massachusetts, to break ground at the mouth of the Connecticut River and erect suitable buildings for the reception of Gardiner, who repaired thither accompanied by his wife. The winter that followed was one of the coldest



LION GARDINER'S SIGNATURE AND SEAL, ON A LETTER TO GOVERNOR WINTHROP.

on record; and the winds, the wolves, and the savages howled in dismal concert through the woods on every side of the lonely fort save where the moaning waters of Long Island Sound contributed a cheerless accompaniment. The party had brought with them in their journey to the post necessities only for the commonest comforts, and worried away the winter as best they could, waiting for the spring which was to bring the army of reinforcements, according to promise. Spring came, and so did the long summer days, and autumn with its changing foliage and ripe nuts, but no ships from over the sea crowded with soldiers and laborers. No imposing procession of notables and nobles! We can almost at this late day feel the dull pain of the disappointment. Gardiner said: "Our great expectations came only to two men (Col. George Fenwick and a man-servant) and they did not come to stay." Col. Fenwick came by the way of Boston, and Governor Winthrop and Hugh Peters accompanied him to Saybrook. They were well pleased with the location of the fort, and with the rich rolling land in its vicinity—where subsequently two great, handsome squares were perfected, to be surrounded with palatial residences. But grim war was brewing with the Indians, and Gardiner was pained to learn through his guests of the hostile course contemplated by the authorities of Massachusetts. He took no care to conceal his disapproval, and exclaimed with much energy: "It is all very well for you to make war who are safe in Massachusetts Bay, but for myself and these few with me who have scarce holes to put our heads in, you will leave at the stake to be roasted,

or for hunger to be starved. Ask the magistrates (of Boston) if they have forgot what I said when they entreated me to view the country there to see how fit it was for fortifications? I told them that nature had done more than half the work already, and I thought no foreign potent enemy would do them any harm, but one that was near! They asked me who that was, and I said 'it was Captain Hunger that threatened them most, for, said I, war is like a three-footed stool, want one foot and down comes all; and these three feet are men, victuals, and munition. Therefore, seeing in peace you are like to be famished, what might or can be done if war? I think it will be best only to fight against Captain Hunger, and let fortifications alone for awhile; and if need hereafter require it, I can come to do you any service.' They all liked my saying well. Entreat them to rest awhile, till we get more strength here: I have but twenty-four in all, men, women and children, and not food for them for two months, unless we save our corn-field (of three acres) which is two miles from home, and cannot possibly be reached if we are in war."

Such arguments were convincing; and the gentlemen, who were deeply interested in the prosperity of Saybrook, promised to do their utmost to persuade the higher New England powers to defer hostilities a year or two. They departed from the little isolated fort on the Connecticut; but long ere they reached Boston, events had precipitated the calamity which Gardiner would have averted. Sir Henry Vane, who, at the age of twenty-four, had been chosen to the governorship of Massachusetts, thought to counteract the murderous proclivities of the Pequots by retaliation. He sent ex-Governor Endicott out into the woods with an armed force of ninety men to awe and overwhelm a powerful and war-loving nation, whose precincts extended over an unlimited area of thousands of miles of unexplored territory. When this expedition reached Saybrook, Gardiner was amazed at Puritan shortsightedness, and said, with much asperity:

"You come hither to raise these wasps about my ears, and then you will take wings and flee away."

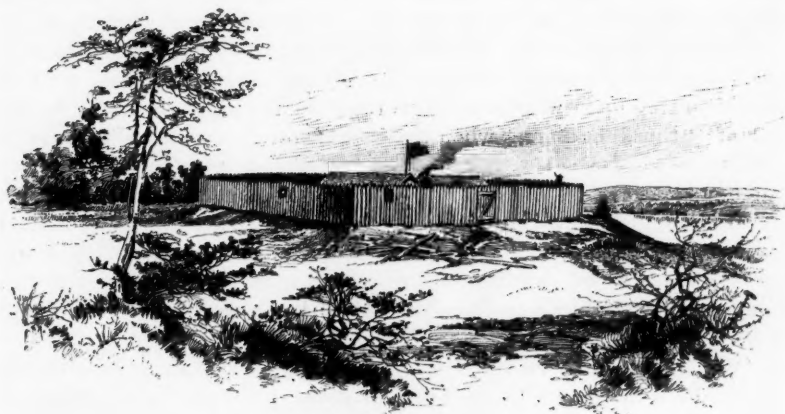
His feeble post had been made the seat of war without notice or time for preparation, but as it was too late to mend matters he, like a true soldier, made the best of the situation. Henceforward the Saybrook fort was perpetually beset by the savage foe. In that little fortress on a desolate coast, but partially completed, were two dozen persons including Mrs. Gardiner and her infant son, David (the first white child born within the limits of the State of Connecticut) with relentless famine, and tortures such as humanity shudders to record staring them in the face. Gardiner, with consummate generalship successfully defended the post, however, until

peace was restored. During those two long bloody years the savages lurked in the hollows and swamps like a malaria; they crawled through the long grass of the salt meadows like snakes; they attacked squads from the garrison when they tried to garner their corn or their hay, or shoot birds for food; they destroyed all the outside store-houses, burned the haystacks, killed the cows, and prowled in sly places by night for human victims. They frequently came to the walls of the fort and taunted the soldiers—calling them “women,” and daring them to come out and “fight like men.” They would dress themselves in the garments of those whom they had tormented with every species of cruelty known to savage science, and in front of the fort enact over again in mockery their horrible death scenes—imitating the cries, the attitude of prayer, and the agonized gestures of the sufferers, ending the theatrical exhibition with peals of laughter like that of demons, after which they would take to their heels and run to the woods with the swiftness of deer.

Gardiner on one occasion had a hand to hand fight with the savages, but defended himself successfully with his sword; he was afterward wounded with an arrow while directing a party who were endeavoring to secure some trees they had chopped down for fuel. Several arrows struck him, and the Indians supposed he was killed, but a buff military coat which Sir Richard Saltonstall had just sent to him prevented serious results. Soon afterward, Thomas Stanton stopped at the fort, waiting for a fair wind to sail westward. He could speak the Indian language, and as three warriors were hanging about under pretense of parley, Gardiner proposed to go out and meet them; but he admonished Stanton “not to answer them directly to anything,” as he was not advised of the policy of Boston. The Indians called out: “Have you fought enough?” Gardiner said he did not know yet. Then they asked: “Do you kill women and children?” “That you shall see hereafter,” replied Gardiner. There was silence for a few minutes, when the Indians said: “We are the Pequots; and we have killed Englishmen, and can kill them as mosquitoes; and we will go to Hartford and kill men, women and children, and carry away the horses, cows and hogs.” Gardiner with good-natured irony responded: “No, no; if you kill all the English it will do you no good. English women are lazy and can’t do your work. The horses and cows will spoil your corn-fields. The hogs will root up your clam-banks. You will be completely undone. But look at our great house here”—and he stretched out his hand significantly toward the fort—“here are twenty pieces of trucking-cloth, and hoes, and hatchets; you had better kill us and get these things, before you trouble yourselves to go up the Connecticut to Hartford.” This derision was too

much for the savages, who ran toward a thicket where their companions were in hiding. Gardiner waved his hat, which was a preconceived signal for the firing of the two cannon, aimed into their ambush.

One morning a large number of canoes filled with Indians were seen coming down the Connecticut and passing Saybrook Fort. In one of these Gardiner thought he discovered two white persons, so he loaded the great guns on the redoubt with round shot and fired, knocking off the "nose" of the canoe which contained the prisoners. The savages fled leaving their captives, who proved to be two Dutch girls; they were fed and clothed and returned to their parents at considerable expense for those times, viz.,



SAYBROOK FORT IN 1636.

£10 But Gardiner complained that he was not even thanked for his trouble.

Sir Henry Vane wrote to Gardiner asking his opinion as to the best means of quelling the Pequots, who were growing every hour more daring and reckless. With his reply, in which he gave sound advice, Gardiner sent a human rib-bone half shot through with an arrow, to prove to the incredulous of Boston what execution was possible with this primitive implement of warfare.

With all the hardships and the tragedy, there was a touch of the ludicrous every now and then, and occasional bursts of hearty laughter within the little stronghold. Once while at supper in the main hall, with very little to eat, the Indians contrived to create an alarm which drew every man from the table three times in the course of a short meal—which the men

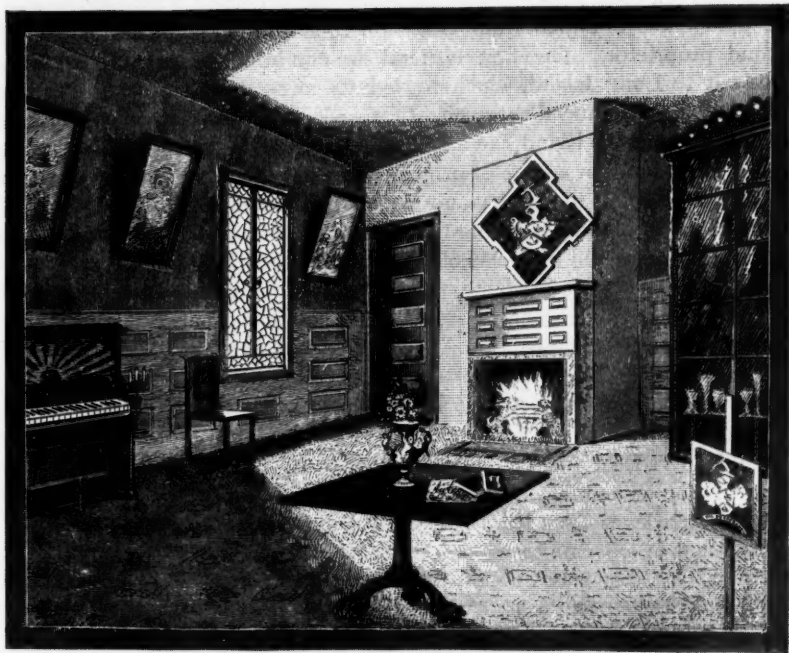
took as a grim joke. At another time, Robert Chapman, ancestor of the present family of that name residing in Saybrook, was pounding corn into samp near the garden pales, when a sentinel shouted to him to run, for Indians were creeping through the grass to catch him. Gardiner at once ordered the two cannon leveled at the trees in the middle of the boughs, and directing the gunner to aim in the direction from which Indian voices might be heard, he started out with six men and three dogs, keeping all abreast and close together, and after running a short distance suddenly halted and yelled to the top of their voices; the Indians returned the shout, and the next instant a volley from the guns of the fort tore the trees above the savage heads into fragments, frightening them into a celerity of retreat which greatly amused the garrison. Still another of what Gardiner styled their "pretty pranks," was driving some great doors full of sharpened nails, and adroitly placing them on the ground outside the fort for the Indians to step upon when they stole round in the night to set fire to the redoubt; "thus," he said, "when they skipped from one they trod upon another."

Major Mason says in his account of the Pequot war, that after the annihilation of that powerful tribe, he was nobly entertained by Lieut. Gardiner and complimented with many great guns at the Saybrook Fort. Some years afterward Gardiner was requested to write a description of the Pequot war, and thus humorously alludes to the crudity of his literary efforts:

"You know when I came to you I was an engineer or architect, whereof carpentry is a little part, but you know I could never use all the tools, for although for my needs I was forced sometimes to use my shifting chisel and my holdfast, yet you know I could never endure nor abide the smoothing plane; I have sent you a piece of timber (referring to his manuscript) scored and forehewed unfit to join to any handsome piece of work, but seeing I have done the hardest work, you must get somebody to chip it and to smooth it, lest the splinters should prick some men's fingers—for the truth must not be spoken at all times."

His written narrative did prick some men's fingers, and was not given to the world for nearly two centuries; but its simplicity and candor are so indelibly imprinted upon the face of it that it has become an accepted authority. It is generally conceded that no one controlling mind did more to preserve the Colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut from total destruction during this terrible war than Lion Gardiner. After peace was finally restored, he projected improvements at Saybrook as fast as means were furnished by the patentees, who found many obstacles

in their way. When his term of service expired he was succeeded in command by Col. George Fenwick himself, who arrived in 1639 accompanied by his beautiful wife, Lady Alice, who now sleeps in a shaded nook in the old Saybrook cemetery. It is said that Cromwell, Hampden, and others actually embarked on the Thames for Saybrook, but were stopped by an order from the King. It was at this juncture that Gardiner, thoroughly disgusted with the management of affairs on both sides of the



DRAWING-ROOM OF THE MANOR-HOUSE AT GARDINER'S ISLAND.

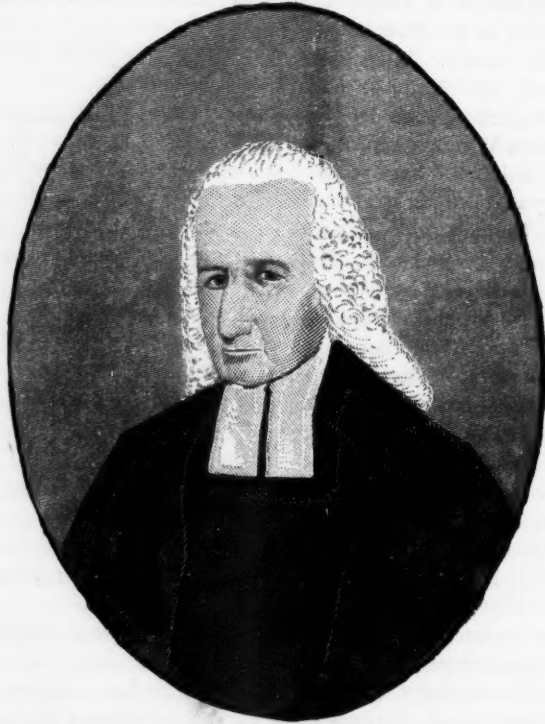
Atlantic, coveted an empire of his own. He sought for an island, so far from the social world that none but barbarians would be likely to visit him without an invitation, and found it, as we have seen. He also provided himself with a number of dependents, chiefly from those who had served in the garrison at Saybrook, and called his retreat the "Isle of Wight."

By the terms of the grant to Lion Gardiner this island was constituted from the first "an entirely separate and distinct plantation," in no wise depending upon either New England or New York, and he was empowered

to make all laws necessary for Church and State, observing the forms—so said the instrument—"agreeable to God, the King, and the practice of the country;" and he was also directed to execute such laws. He is mentioned in the records as the "worshipful Lion Gardiner, Lord of the Isle of Wight." The wrangling between the Dutch and English powers concerning the jurisdiction of Long Island produced no ripple in the atmosphere of this remote miniature principality. At a later period, when the Duke of York took possession of his American territory, a confirmation of the patent was obtained from Governor Nicolls by David Gardiner, the second proprietor. The first General Assembly of New York, in 1683, joined it to Long Island, which roused its owner into a spirited remonstrance. He denounced the arbitrary invasion of rights sacred to himself; he claimed that the island had a distinct existence, to prove which he cited documents from four agents of princes, three of whom had been governors under the reigning monarch; and he further stated that the island had been seated by his father before there was an Englishman settled on Long Island and been held in peaceable possession forty-four years; that it had contributed upward of two hundred and eighty pounds sterling to the support of the Government, never having had any connection with Long Island, nor any assistance from it whatever, not even amid the perils of Indian warfare. The result of this petition was a manorial grant from Governor Dongan of New York, erecting the beautiful island into a "Lordship and manor," to be called Gardiner's Island—with full powers to hold Court-Leet and Court-Baron, distrain for rents, exercise the rights of advowson or nomination to an ecclesiastical living in the churches, and all other privileges accorded to such institutions in England—even capital punishment in extreme cases.

Lion Gardiner was one of those men who seem to have a special genius for public usefulness. While his thrifty farmers were bringing the rich soil of his island under cultivation, he was in constant correspondence with the governors of New Haven and Hartford in relation to Indian affairs. He had personal acquaintance with nearly all the great Sachems of the period, and his quick insight into the Indian temper rendered him a valuable counselor. His knack in managing the forest kings, the result of a certain wise, strong sense of diplomacy, revealed a capacity for statesmanship which might have made him famous in an older civilization. He inspired the utmost respect in the Indian mind, through his fearlessness and decision in emergencies; the influences that went out from him were of a mellowing and subduing quality, and his wit, vivacity and good nature attracted the red men like a magnet. Wyandanch, the "potentate of all

The conduct of the Long Island Indians is without a parallel in the history of this country. No conspiracy, even of a single tribe, on eastern Long Island was ever formed against intruding civilization. While New England and Northern New York were in one chronic alarm for many decades there was peace in these remote plantations. Even during that dark period, just prior to the arrival of Governor Stuyvesant, when the



REV. SAMUEL BUELL, D.D.

whole region about Manhattan was desolated, there was no hostile element on this soil, save when imported from other shores. Domestic animals roamed at will on Gardiner's Island; Indians were free to come and go; and the hum of industry kept time with the music of the billows. There is no indication that the native temper of these tribes was less fierce and cruel than that of those upon the main; but there is evidence that the reasonings and generous sentiments of a superior intellect worked their

way into the common channels of the lower strata of mind, filling the office of a directory; that these simple people of the woods were humanized by the miraculous magic of a master-spirit, and, following the law of nature, imitated his methods. Acts of individual aggression were few; but in such cases the Indians were always willing to submit to Gardiner's investigations and abide by his impartial judgments. Indeed, they often applied to him to settle their differences with each other.

A panic was created in 1649 by the murder of an Englishwoman in Southampton; the authorities of the town sent, in hot haste, for the Sachem Wyandanch, fearing there was to be a general massacre. His braves advised him not to obey the summons, lest he be killed or imprisoned in the excitement of the moment. It chanced that Gardiner was on a visit of ceremony at the Sachem's castle, at Montauk, and the case was submitted to him: "Go by all means, at once, and I will stay as hostage to the tribe for your safety," was Gardiner's prompt reply. Wyandanch hastened to Southampton, actually apprehending the murderers on his way, who proved to be Pequots from the main, instead of his own subjects as he had at first supposed. They were sent to Hartford and there tried by the authorities, and executed.

Shortly afterward, the Narragansetts retaliated by falling upon the peaceable tribe at Montauk, in the midst of the revelry of the bridal night of the only daughter of Wyandanch, and, killing the bridegroom, carried the hapless princess into captivity. Gardiner never rested until he had redeemed and restored her to her father. Wyandanch in the fullness of his gratitude presented Gardiner with a deed of all that region of territory now known as Smithtown.

The last graceful token of the great chieftain's confidence and affection was to leave—at his death—his son of nineteen, the heir of the sovereignty, under the guardianship of Gardiner during his minority. The Government was administered by the "Queen-dowager," who was a woman of great ability; but all acts and transactions of both the royal mother and son were submitted for approval to the autocrat of the Island.

Easthampton, the nearest town on the Long Island shore, was first settled when Gardiner's Island was about fourteen years old. Lion Gardiner was one of its founders, and built for himself a substantial house alongside the parsonage of the Rev. Thomas James. These two were the principal men of the place, and it is recorded that one half of all the whales cast upon the shore were to be divided between them. Gardiner was one of the magistrates of the new town, to whom all deferred; and his ideas and opinions were engrafted upon the forming community. Without in any

sense abandoning his island, he continued to reside in Easthampton until his death in 1663. He left three children, the youngest, Elizabeth, born at Gardiner's Island, September 14, 1641, the first child of English parentage born within the precincts of the State of New York.

David, the only son, was sent to England for an education, and married an English lady in London. The ceremony took place in St. Margaret's Church, which is attached to Westminster Abbey. Through David the Island was entailed by his mother, Lion Gardiner, who died in 1663, at the age of sixty-four, having willed all his property to his wife and left its further disposition solely to her judgment.* A handsome monument in Hartford, Connecticut, where Lord David died while on

public business to that town, bears the inscription, "Well, sick, and dead in one hour's space;" and also records the date of his birth at Saybrook Fort, and the fact of his having been the first white child born in Connecticut. After David the next lord of the manor was John. It is interesting to note that the proprietors of the Island alternated from John to David, and from David to John through eight successive generations. Lord John (the third) born 19th of April, 1661, died in 1738 at Groton, Connecticut, his death having been caused by a fall from a



IMPRESSION FROM SIGNET RING OF LORD JOHN GARDINER, 1682.

horse while on a visit to New London. He was consigned to the old burying-ground in that town, and a monument marks his resting-place, inscribed to "His Excellency, John Gardiner, Lord of the Isle of Wight"—surmounted by the arms of the family. It was during his life—in 1699—that Captain Kidd landed upon the Island and buried a large chest of treasures in a sequestered swamp. Fearing the act had been discovered, Kidd, with characteristic boldness, went to the proprietor and told him what he had done. He knew that his very presence was a covert threat in that isolated abode, and when he demanded refreshments for himself and his vicious-looking crew he anticipated no refusal. One of the delicacies which he suggested was a roast pig, hence there seemed no alternative but to roast a pig for the self-invited guest. When the repast was finished, Kidd took courteous leave of his host and hostess, and in so doing bestowed upon Mrs. Gardiner a

* In her will, Mary Gardiner, widow of Lion Gardiner, says: "I give my island called the 'Isle of Wight,' to my son David, wholly to be his during his life and after his decease to his next heire male begotten by him." . . . "& to be entayled to the first heires male proceeding from the body of my deceased husband, Lion Gardiner and me his wife Mary from time to time forever. Never to be sold from them and to be a continuous inheritance to the heires of me and my husband forever." This lady died in 1665.

"cloth of gold"—or blanket—of exquisite beauty which he had taken from the *Quedah Merchant*, and which was part of the dowry of the Grand Mogul's daughter. This has been carefully preserved and handed along from generation to generation, and is still in possession of the descendants. Not quite satisfied, apparently, with having placed himself in the position of a beggar before a gentleman's family Kidd is said to have left a costly diamond in the well-bucket, where he pretended to drink just before quitting the island. The diamond was found—whether in the well-bucket or elsewhere—and has ever since been treasured by members of the Gardiner family. No sooner had the pirate captain departed than a trusty messenger hastened from the island with information to the governor, Lord Bellomont, who sent commissioners to exhume and take possession of the buried treasures. A careful inventory was made and a receipt for the articles found given to Gardiner. This paper, although yellow with age, is in existence, showing that the chest contained bags of gold-dust, bags of gold bars, bags of coined gold, bags of silver, bags of jewels and precious stones, and a large quantity of diamonds, with other articles of great value.

During the early years of the century that followed the island manor was frequently visited by privateersmen, smugglers, buccaneers and freebooters, and suffered much loss from their depredations. In 1728, it was completely invested by a band of piratical desperadoes, eighty in number, including Spaniards, Frenchmen and mulattoes. They assaulted the manor-house in the night, destroyed the furniture and beds, and plundered it of household articles, clothing, and valuables of every description; they succeeded in carrying off all the family plate except one solitary silver tankard, which Mrs. Gardiner seized as she fled through a rear passage. Gardiner was severely wounded, and many of his laborers were cut with the weapons of the assailants. The place where the family usually crossed the bay was strictly guarded by the pirates, lest some message of alarm might reach the mainland; but the ladies and servants made their escape through the shrubbery and swamps, guided by a faithful Indian, who placed them in a canoe and paddled them safely to Accabonack harbor. An express was quickly sent to the New York governor for help, but the tidings reached New London first, and an armed expedition was quickly skimming the Sound, which the pirates discovered in time to escape, taking with them every available article of value the island afforded. The tankard is cherished as a priceless relic of this event.

It would be interesting to place ourselves in palpable connection with the line of lords who presided over this manor, and let them pass before



COAT OF ARMS.

retired into the oak tree. John, the third son of the third John, married the daughter of Governor Gurdon Saltonstall of Connecticut, and niece of Sir John Davie, of Creedy, England. Hannah, daughter of the third John, married John Chandler of Worcester, and was the great-grandmother of the distinguished historian, George Bancroft. Another daughter of the third John became the wife of Thomas Green of Boston, and her son, Gardiner Green, married a sister of the late Lord Lyndhurst of England. David, the fourth lord, was born in 1691; and his death is entered in the church records as follows: "Died, Lord Gardiner, 1751, July 4th." Upon his tombstone in the Gardiner graveyard is the coat of arms of which the sketch is a fac-simile.* In his will occurs the



PRESENT ARMS.



MOURNING RING.

1764.

* During the time of the fifth lord, the family coat of arms was changed, reasons for which are at present unknown, since when the new arms have been engraved upon the tombstones of the several proprietors, on the silver plate of the family, etc. Mourning rings were used by the Gardiners in all the generations. One of these bears the design of a coffin with a skeleton in the center, the inscription upon it being "J. Gardiner, Ob. 19 May 1764. Æ 51."

following passage: "I leave to my eldest son John, my island called Gardiner's Island, and after his decease to his eldest son, and after his decease to the eldest son of the said eldest son, and in that manner to descend to the male line of my family to the end of time." His sons were



MARY GARDINER JOHNSON.

educated at Yale College. John, the fifth lord, presided over the estate for the next thirteen years. His daughter Mary was educated in Boston, and excelled in music, dancing, painting, embroidery, and all the varied accomplishments of a fashionable lady of the period.* She made her début in society in gay Boston, and her seeming infatuation for balls and parties was only equaled by her extravagance in dress. Some of her imported

* The exquisitely embroidered coat-of-arms of the Gardiners hanging over the mantel in the drawing-room of the manor house (see sketch of the drawing-room, page 11), was the work of this accomplished Miss Mary Gardiner.

costumes, still preserved—a hundred and thirty-five or more years old—are of the rarest elegance and richness. To the surprise of the family, she after all fell in love with the chaplain on the island, Rev. Mr. Blake, and persisted in marrying him, although her parents opposed the match. He died soon after, and she the second time married a minister—the Rev. Stephen Johnson, of Lyme, whose first wife had been Elizabeth Diodati. After the death of the fifth proprietor, his widow married Gen. Israel Putnam, of the Revolution, and died at headquarters in the Highlands.

David, the sixth lord, in 1766 married Jerusha, daughter of Rev. Dr. Samuel Buell, the witty and eccentric divine of Easthampton. After the wedding ceremony the minister was congratulated on the very honorable marriage of his daughter. "Yes," he replied, "I have always wished to give my daughter to the Lord."

Thus far the old feudal estate had flourished in its independence of colonial government, in no way disturbed by the political agitations of the times. But with the dawn of the Revolution it bowed to the divinity of a new liberty, and a fresh leaf was turned in its history. Easthampton, strongly supported by the Gardiners, voted unanimously for resistance to Ministerial oppression, and appealed to Congress for aid in withholding support from the British army. In the same document attention was called to the perilous position of Gardiner's Island, and its attractions for the enemy. Before effective action was taken in the matter, a fleet of thirteen sail anchored in Gardiner's Bay, and a party of British officers landed upon the Island to negotiate for the purchase of supplies for the half-famished troops at that moment imprisoned in Boston. David, the sixth proprietor, had recently died, and the property was in charge of the guardians of his children, Col. Abraham Gardiner, David Mulford, and Thomas Wickham. Col. Gardiner resolutely declined all overtures, sending private messengers in hot haste for soldiers to help him maintain his position. Wickham was absent, being a member of the Provincial Congress in session at New York City. There were then no electric wires to flash the news of impending disaster over the land, and no railroads to bring succor from afar in a night. While the heralds of distress were tramping on foot along the tiresome roads, or perhaps making a little quicker time on horseback, the British helped themselves to twelve hundred sheep, and a cargo of hogs, fowls, cheese, and hay, worth several thousand dollars, without payment, and departed. Henceforward, Gardiner's Island was a foraging field for the British, and in a certain sense desolated. Easthampton was presently occupied by a division of the British army. During a summer and a winter, Vice-admiral Arbuthnot,

with eleven ships of the line, remained in Gardiner's Bay. The drafts upon the resources of the Island were constant. The horses were taken for the use of the officers on shore, and the timber was greatly damaged. The best dwelling-house in Easthampton was that of Col. Abraham Gardiner, and the British officers were billeted upon him, much to his discomfort. Sir William Erskine, Lord Percy, afterward second Duke of Northumberland, Lord Cathcart, Governor Tryon, Major André, and occasionally Sir Henry Clinton, were among these guests. They made frequent trips to Gardiner's Island, which was for them a most enticing hunting-ground, and in stormy weather took possession of the manor-house, and diverted themselves with playing quoits in the dining-room. The oaken floors still bear the marks of this game, and it is thought the disks used were Spanish dollars—rough-edged pieces of silver of irregular shapes. Rev. Dr. Buell, the father of the "Lady of the Manor," often accompanied these haughty Britons on their deer-hunts, and his pleasantry, politeness and humorous anecdotes, together with his fondness for the chase, rendered him a general favorite. He made no concealment of his Whig principles, and was called "an old rebel" by the younger officers, while at the same time the admiration and respect which he inspired enabled him by prompt intercession to mitigate the severity of many of the orders which bore heavily upon the people, and to prevent much wanton mischief.

Meeting Sir William Erskine, who commanded the post, one Saturday, that officer remarked to the clergyman that he had ordered the men of the parish to appear on the morrow, with their teams at Southampton. "Ah, yes," said Dr. Buell, "I am aware of it, but I am commander-in-chief on Sunday, and have annulled your order." The precedence was pleasantly conceded and the order revoked. While Major André was quartered with Col. Gardiner, the son of the Col., Dr. Nathaniel Gardiner, a surgeon in the first New Hampshire Continental Infantry, came home on leave of absence. The family carefully suppressed the fact, but after his departure André quietly informed them that he had been aware of his presence in the house, and would have been much pleased to have made his acquaintance, only that his duty as a British officer would have compelled him to arrest the young surgeon as a spy. It was a curious coincidence that this same



THE ANDRÉ WINE-GLASS.

young Dr. Gardiner should have been ordered to attend André on the last night of his life. When Major André left Easthampton he exchanged wine-glasses with Col. Gardiner, leaving two from his camp-chest, and these mementos are now guarded with jealous care by the descendants.

The old Gardiner mansion at Easthampton had a garret entered by a trap-door, which was used as a place of confinement for prisoners during



JOHN GRISWOLD.

this memorable period. It also contained a secret panel where the valuables of the family were secreted during the war to prevent their being seized by the soldiery. Col. Gardiner was at one time under arrest for refusing to call out the militia of Easthampton to sustain Governor Tryon in his attempt to resuscitate the royal government of New York. Finding Col. Gardiner determined in his course, there was little effort made to subdue his spirit, but it became so hazardous for him to remain in Easthampton

that he quietly retired with his family to Stonington, Connecticut, until peace was proclaimed. Wickham was also at Stonington, where he commanded a sloop of eight guns, annoying the enemy in various ways. As trustees of Gardiner's Island they both did all in their power to obtain reparation for damages to the estate of the children and heirs of the late proprietor. It took a full quarter of a century to restore the property to the prosperity it enjoyed before the seven years war. But cultivation finally removed all traces of its Revolutionary chapter.

John Lyon Gardiner, the seventh proprietor, was educated at Princeton, and in 1803 was a bachelor of thirty-four, refined, scholarly, and dwelling in princely solitude on his water-bound manorial estate. Notwithstanding that the distinction of rank had perished under the democratic hammer, he was as much a live lord in the estimation of the people around him as had been his venerated ancestors. The even tenor of his bachelor career was changed by a freak of the elements. A party of gay young ladies and gentlemen from Lyme, on the Connecticut shore, while out on a sailing frolic, were suddenly becalmed on the Sound within sight of Gardiner's Island. As night approached a breeze sprung up, and so did a violent storm. They steered for the island landing, moored their craft, and hastened to the manor-house for shelter. An old housekeeper graciously received them, and presently the handsome proprietor appeared, and finding his visitors were his Connecticut neighbors, extended cordial hospitalities. An elaborate supper was served, and music and dancing followed to the mutual delight of all concerned. The next morning the storm-bound guests, escorted to the landing with marked civility by their host, re-embarked for Lyme. But the island sovereign was never exactly the same man afterward. One of the fair belles thus blown to his castle had stolen his heart. Presently the mind of the little town at the mouth of the Connecticut was nearly unhinged by the grandeur of an arrival. A stylish barge manned by a princely force entered its harbor, and the elegant lord of the manor stepped forth and proceeded to "Blackhall," the seat of the Griswolds. John Griswold was the brother of Governor Roger Griswold, and their two houses stood side by side overlooking Long Island Sound. These brothers were sons of Governor Matthew and Ursula Wolcott Griswold, and grandsons of Governor Roger Wolcott. It was the family of John Griswold who entertained the courtly visitor that day, and on numerous subsequent occasions. Indeed, for a whole season the stately coming and going of the island personage, with his vast retinue, was the chief sensation of the town. Then came the wedding of the beautiful Sarah, daughter of John Griswold—on the 4th of March, 1803. Her mother was Sarah Diodati,

daughter of Rev. Stephen and Elizabeth Diodati Johnson, descended through a long line of the Italian nobility from Cornelio Diodati of Lucca in 1300. Whether the bride inherited governing and exemplary qualities from her distinguished ancestry or otherwise, she was a lady of superior excellence and force of character, and through a long and eventful life commanded the confidence and affection of all who knew her. She bore a striking resem-



LADY SCARLETT.

[From the original painting in possession of Mrs. Sarah Diodati Thompson.]

blance in her bridal days to Lady Scarlett, sister of the William Diodati who emigrated to America, and whose husband, Anthony Scarlett, was one of the notable family of that name, the head of which has since been made Lord Abinger. Many pieces of massive silverware and other articles of special value, together with her portrait and family Bible, Lady Scarlett bequeathed to her brother William, and these treasures were subsequently

inherited by Mrs. John Griswold (the mother of Mrs. Gardiner), through whose children they have been handed along and are still in possession of the American Diodati descendants.

But with all the sunshine and love-romance of intervening years, the island was to taste still further the fruits of war. In 1812, a formidable British fleet came to anchor in Gardiner's Bay. Shortly afterward, some American vessels were chased into New London harbor, where they were blockaded during the next three years. The fleet, numbering as many as seven ships of the line with several frigates and smaller vessels, obtained supplies chiefly from Gardiner's Island. Foraging parties often killed oxen at the plow, and carried them to the vessels. Commodore Sir Thomas Hardy was in command, and endeavored to restrain his men from showing disrespect to the proprietor and his family. But the sailors were perpetually coming ashore, and the subordinate officers were not the best of teachers by example. The steward of the island, Lewis Edwards, was generally paid the market price for whatever was taken with his knowledge in the way of provisions. A letter from Commodore Hardy to John Lyon Gardiner explains the situation. He wrote:

"As it is probable the Government of the United States may call you to account for permitting refreshments to be taken by the British Squadron from your place, it may be necessary for your satisfaction, and to prevent your experiencing the censure of your Government, for me to assure you, that had you not complied with my wishes as you have done, I should have made use of force, and the consequences would have been the destruction of your property, yourself a prisoner of war, and whatever was in the possession of your dependents taken without payment. But I beg to say to you that it is not my wish to distress individuals on the coast of the United States who may be in the power of the squadron."

Not long after a boat's crew of Commodore Decatur's men slipped out of New London, passed the British guns without discovery, and landed on Gardiner's Island, hiding in the woods. Presently a party of British officers were seen going up to the manor-house. The Americans sprang upon them as they were comfortably seated in one of the spacious apartments, and much to their chagrin carried them off at once as prisoners. When Hardy heard of it he ordered the arrest of Gardiner, supposing he had been instrumental in betraying his men into the hands of the enemy. The presence of Americans upon the island had been as much of a surprise to Gardiner as to the officers who fell into their hands. And not coveting indefinite incarceration, he resorted to a little strategy in his own behalf. He retired to an apartment known as the "green room," and being a delicate looking man the reflection of the green curtains gave him a sickly aspect. A small table alongside the bed was provided with medicines,

glasses, spoons, etc. When the officers arrived to take him hence, Mrs. Gardiner met them with whispers, begging them to make as little noise as possible. Gardiner's appearance brought them to a stand, and not wishing the encumbrance of a sick man on board ship, they demanded his eldest son, David Johnson, as hostage. The boy was away at school, and they finally left. The next morning came the following letter from Captain Charles Paget of the squadron, addressed to Gardiner :

"I have discovered a degree of doubt and suspicion in the minds of the officers of the squadron concerning your disposition towards us. In order, therefore, that there shall be

in future no mistrust on the one hand, and no plea of ignorance on the other, this is to give notice, that Gardiner's Island has been permitted the indulgence of remaining in its present peaceable situation throughout the war, and is still enjoying it by sufferance only, and therefore, if the most trivial instance of hostility is ever practiced upon any boat or individual whatever belonging to the squadron, or if it should ever be discovered that any men under arms on any pretense whatever are landed upon said island, the most serious consequences will be visited upon you and your property, and that there may be no possible grounds for our mistaking each other, I hereby in writing set down the terms upon which alone Gardiner's Island will be permitted to remain unmolested. Supplies will be required from time to time, upon the same footing as hitherto."



MRS. GARDINER.

Some weeks later, Captain Sir Hugh Pigott came on shore with a

number of his men, and parading before the manor-house, made unreasonable demands, threatening to fire upon the building. Gardiner sent his family and servants into the cellar for safety, intending to defend his property at all hazards. The British finally left without executing their threats. When near the shore one of the officers ran back as if for something forgotten, and told Gardiner he had been treated in a most unjustifiable manner, and that Pigott's conduct would be promptly reported to Hardy. Before the roll of another sun a letter of regret and apology reached the island from the Commander-in-chief of the squadron.

During this war Gardiner's boats were always manned by negroes (of

whom there had from the beginning been large numbers on the island, as slaves or employees) that the British guards might know instantly to whom they belonged, and allow them to pass and repass without question.* Many of the British officers and soldiers were buried upon the island during the conflict.

Another notable excitement to which the island was subjected was when it was overrun by foreigners in 1869. The great camp of the Cuban Liberators was established within a mile of the mansion. It was a motley collection of men from all walks in life, ex-officers from all armies and fanatics of all nationalities. They were comparatively unarmed and about two hundred in number. Government in course of events checked the ardor of these ambitious spirits. The animated chase when fifty marines were landed from the revenue cutter *Mohoning* upon the island in pursuit of prisoners will not soon be forgotten by eye-witnesses. Colonel Ryan escaped unhurt, although several times fired upon. He had a place of concealment where it was said he could not be dislodged except by artillery. As the island contains a curious cave, and three or four strange little islands within bogs within islands, there is little reason for doubting the statement.



JOHN LYON GARDINER.

The Gardiners in the different generations have become connected by marriage with the Van Rensselaers, Van Cortlandts, Van Wycks, Sands, Livingstons and Beekmans of New York, and the Smiths of St. George's Manor and of Smithtown, the Floyds, Joneses, Nicolls, Derings, Sylvesters and Thompsons of Long Island, as well as with the leading families of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Colonel Abraham Gardiner's daughter Mary married Judge Isaac Thompson, of Sagtikos Patent. Colonel Abra-

* Near Easthampton is now a small village of negroes, called Freetown; its inhabitants are descendants of the slaves and free servants of the lords of the manor of Gardiner's Island in early times.

ham Gardiner's grandson, David Gardiner, born in 1784, and educated at Yale, was several years in public life, a man of ability and many accomplishments. He was one of the distinguished party invited by the President on the pleasure trip of the frigate *Princeton* down the Potomac in 1844, and was killed by the explosion of Captain Stockton's great gun when the frigate was about to pass Mount Vernon, an accident which plunged our national capital into deepest mourning, for two of the Cabinet ministers and three other well-known gentlemen were also instantly killed. The six were all buried from the great historical East Room of the Presidential mansion.

About three months after this sad event the daughter of David Gardiner was married to President John Tyler. The engagement had been kept a profound secret, and no one but the immediate relatives and friends were present at the marriage ceremony, which was performed by Bishop Onderdonck in the Church of the Ascension, New York City. A wedding breakfast was served at the Gardiner family residence in Lafayette Place, and then the bride and groom drove down Broadway in an open barouche drawn by four white horses, and embarked on board a ship of war in the harbor, sailing down the bay to Amboy on their way to Washington. The first intimation the public had of so unusual an event as that of the marriage of a President of the nation during his term of office, was from the guns of the forts and shipping as the President passed. The smoke from one of the saluting guns formed a perfect ring and attracted the attention of all present, who regarded it as a happy omen. David Lion Gardiner, son of the lamented David Gardiner (now a resident of New Haven), married his cousin Sarah, the daughter of David Thompson the grandson of Judge Isaac Thompson, and herself the granddaughter through her mother of John Lyon Gardiner, the seventh proprietor of the manor.

John Lyon Gardiner died in 1816, and his eldest son, David Johnson Gardiner, the eighth proprietor of the island, was the last of the family to receive the property by entail. He was born in 1804, graduated from Yale in 1824, and died unmarried in 1829. His brother, John Griswold Gardiner, followed him as ninth proprietor, and died unmarried in 1861. The third brother, the late Samuel Buele Gardiner, succeeded to the proprietorship as the tenth in the line. He married Mary Gardiner, daughter of Jonathan Thompson, Collector of the Port of New York, and granddaughter of Judge Isaac and Mary Gardiner Thompson; and her brother, the late David Thompson, who for many years held important monetary trusts in Wall Street, married Sarah Diodati Gardiner, sister of the eighth, ninth, and tenth proprietors—the only surviving daughter of John Lyon and Sarah Griswold Gardiner, who still resides in Lafayette Place, New York

City. Samuel Buell Gardiner was a man who enjoyed life rationally, spending most of his time in taking care of his property and was never anxious for public service, although he was twice a member of the New York State Legislature and was one of the Board of Supervisors. He was of slight, graceful figure, over six feet in height, with high forehead, handsome features, a pleasing smile, and a white, full beard—an



SAMUEL BUELL GARDINER.

agreeable, well-bred, unostentatious gentleman of the old school, holding a high place in the esteem and confidence of the community. At his death, in 1882, the island was left by will to his eldest son, David Johnson Gardiner; but the eleventh proprietor being a bachelor and not caring to assume the care and responsibilities of the position, has since transferred the property, with all its rights and privileges, to his brother,

John Lyon Gardiner, who married Coralie Livingston Jones, the great-granddaughter of the celebrated New York City mayor, James Duane (whose portrait was published in this Magazine in May, 1883), and who is now the twelfth proprietor of the island. He has two young daughters, and an infant son appropriately named Lion Gardiner, who is expected to inherit the ancient estate.

In spanning the two hundred and fifty years since the founder of the manor of Gardiner's Island, moved by the conflict of European thought and the higher forces of manhood and culture, stepped from an old world into a new, a perfect chain may be wrought from the grains of gold in the miscellaneous mass of record and story—like a garment woven without seam—a combination of unity and grace. Neither remoteness of time nor colonial obscurity should cast a haze over our perceptions. A ripening mind, from an age of exhilarating intellectual activity, familiar with the policy of courts and the conclusions of philosophers, imparted lessons to his generation which went toward the preparation of succeeding generations

"For the day of greater power,
When the bell of Revolution might safely toll the hour."

The sword may carve the pathway to a throne, and imperial edicts may reconstruct kingdoms, but neither can engrave the enduring character of a people. We must look behind the scenery of battles for the subtle moral agencies which have not only advanced us to our present plane of intellectual freedom, but have given a tinge and a flavor to the whole anatomy of our sovereign organization. We are becoming better acquainted, year by year, with the men who shaped our social and political systems; but there is significance in the remark that "no biography will go into a life without a remainder." There is always more to learn.

Martha J Lamb

COUNT DE VERGENNES

THE FRENCH STATESMAN'S INFLUENCE ON AMERICA

Charles Gravier, Count de Vergennes, born at Dijon, the 28th Dec., 1717, was the son of a member of parliament of that city. He was trained for a diplomatic career by M. de Chavigny, who was allied to his family, and had been employed as envoy of France in Switzerland, Spain, England, and Vienna. He accompanied Chavigny to Lisbon, and in 1750 he was named minister of the king to the Elector of Treves. Three years later he was advanced to Constantinople, where amid the intrigues of England, Prussia, Austria, Russia and Poland, he baffled the policy of England and Russia, and kept the Porte in a state of neutrality during the seven years' war. After two years of retirement on his estate in Burgundy, he was made ambassador to Sweden on the fall of Choiseul in 1771. Here he assisted Gustavus III to become an absolute monarch.

On the accession to the throne of Louis XVI, May, 1774, the young king, then in his twentieth year, on the recommendation of Maurepas appointed Vergennes, who was in his 55th year, Minister of Foreign Affairs. Among his associates in the cabinet were Sartine, Malesherbes, St. Germain, Turgot, and his successors in the department of finance, Neckar and Calonne. An elaborate sketch of Vergennes may be found in the *Biographie Universelle Ancienne et Moderne* (vol. 48 of the first edition). Another, less complete is given in a "Mémoire historique et politique sur la Louisiane," attributed to Vergennes, and published at Paris in 1802. He is described as modest in his desires and habits, of indefatigable zeal and extraordinary industry, never postponing till the morrow what could be done to-day, and working from daylight till ten at night, imitating in this the Cardinal de Bernis, who at an advanced age gave an audience at six in the morning. "His manners were grave and at times almost pedantic, and he enveloped himself in diplomatic forms even with the ambassadors of the family," the House of Bourbon. The Count d'Aranda, the able ambassador of Spain at Paris said, "I chat with M. de Maurepas, I negotiate with the Count de Vergennes," indicating the levity of the first and the gravity of the second. "He was never known," said M. Mayer, "for his luxury or his tastes, but for his talents and his virtues. His fortune was the result of forty years of work and economy, and he died in the arms of his wife and his two sons, 13 Feb. 1787." Among the great European treaties with

which his name is associated are the Pacification of Teschen, the Treaty of Fontainebleau with Joseph II., and commercial treaties with Russia and England.

The view given in the *Biographie Universelle* of the policy of Vergennes in assisting the American colonies is to this effect: "The cabinet of Versailles saw only an occasion to humiliate a rival empire, and a young noblesse imbued with the principles of the modern philosophy was the first to respond to the cries of liberty from the other side of the Atlantic, and to solicit as a favor permission to join the ranks of the insurgents. This same opinion led to the Alliance with the United States, of February 6, 1778. Without doubt the definitive Treaty of 1783, establishing the independence of America effaced the stain of that of 1763. Without doubt the French diplomacy in establishing the Maritime League of the North under the name of armed neutrality, and in arming Spain and Holland against England, placed England in a difficult position. But the deficit caused by that war and the principles of liberty and equality brought over from America, and little by little inoculating the French people, created the abyss in which the monarchy and the monarch were soon to be engulfed."

The early assistance given by Vergennes to the American colonists was in direct violation of the faith pledged to England by the treaty of 1763, and on this point Vergennes is condemned by French writers, who in other respects are disposed to eulogize him. Mr. Bancroft remarks that Vergennes never dissembled to himself on this subject, nor professed any justification except that England was an inveterate enemy, whose enfeeblement was required for the future tranquillity of France. Mr. Charles Francis Adams in discussing the policy of Vergennes refers to the fact that on the 2d May, 1776, Vergennes asked the king for a loan of a million of livres for the Americans, to which his majesty assented. This was two months before the Declaration of Independence, and yet five years later, in 1782, when Mr. Thomas Grenville had come to Paris to negotiate a peace, the Count de Vergennes gave to Grenville in Franklin's presence, the assurance that he had never given the least encouragement to America until long after the breach was made and independence declared; and then he added, "there sits Mr. Franklin, who knows the facts and can contradict me if I don't speak the truth." Mr. Adams in a note severely condemns the audacity of the falsehood.

Vergennes, when he heard the conditions of the Treaty of France with England in 1763, made a notable prediction, which he afterward recalled to the British Ministry, that the cession of Canada would lead to the inde-

pendence of the American colonies. In 1775, when the news of the battle of Bunker Hill reached Europe, he said, "two more such victories and England will have no army left in America."

He overcame the objections of the young King, of Maurepas, of Malesherbes and of Turgot to a war with England, and the "Considerations" which he submitted to the King were marked by an acute analysis of what he called "this important problem," looking to the interests of France and the necessity of her acting in self-defense.

In December, 1776, Vergennes received the American Commissioners, when he assured them of protection and received their project of a treaty with France.

December, 1777, came the news of Burgoyne's surrender, and on the 6th of February, 1778, the treaties of alliance and of amity and commerce, the object of which, as Vergennes showed in a memoir in March, 1784, had been to curb the ambition and pride of England, and to prevent the American revolution from turning to the disadvantage of France. The idea of an alliance with America was most unpalatable to Spain, which was extremely hostile to American independence, and the success of Vergennes in inducing Spain to join in the war was regarded as a triumph of diplomacy. Mr. Bancroft has shown in his last volume that the price demanded by Spain and agreed to by France as the *quid pro quo* for her entering into the war, was the sacrifice to Spain of the interests of the republic in two particulars. First, the division of the Newfoundland fisheries between France and Spain to the exclusion of the United States; secondly, Spain was to be left free to exact from the United States "a renunciation of every part of the basin of the St. Lawrence and the Lakes, of the navigation of the Mississippi, and all the land between that river and the Alleghanies."*

Mr. Bancroft's text and notes on this point offer a perfect explanation of the policy of Vergennes in reference to the American claims, of which Mr. Charles Francis Adams had remarked that nothing is more remarkable throughout this struggle than the patient deference manifested by the Count to all the caprices, the narrow ideas, and the vacillations of the Spanish court." John Adams was told that it was often said among the French people that M. de Vergennes was too complaisant to the Spanish Court, and that he wished to be made a grandee of Spain to cover his want of birth.†

A collection of letters and parts of letters bearing on the American war gathered by Mr. Bancroft from European archives was given by him to

* Bancroft, X., 191.

† III. Adams, 326.

Count Adolphe de Circourt, who printed them in the third volume of his work translated from Bancroft's history and entitled "*Histoire de l'action commune de la France et de l'Amérique pour l'indépendance des États Unis.*" *

Among these, as bearing upon the policy and methods of Vergennes in his elaborate and ingenious efforts to accomplish the wishes of Spain, may be cited—First, correspondence with the French envoy at Madrid, the Count de Montmorin, from 18th December, 1777, to the 8th June, 1782; second, instructions and correspondence with his skillful envoys in America, M. Gerard and M. de la Luzerne, from 29th March, 1778, to the 30th December, 1782; third, correspondence with M. de Rayneval, his confidential agent in England, from 15th September, 1782, to the beginning of 1783; fourth, fragments extending to ten pages (III. De Circourt, pp. 29–38) of a "Mémoire sur les principaux objets dont on doit s'occuper dans la négociation pour la paix," without date, but between 30th May, 1782, and 15th June, 1782. This curious paper shows the interest taken by France in the wishes of Spain; it relates specially to the need of restraining the United States in their boundaries, of forestalling an increase of their power by "leaving them not too much land," and by taking precautionary measures against emigration, so as to avoid the effect of their bad example on the Peruvians, the Mexicans, and other colonists, and proposing that England, Spain, France and Holland should combine to check the Americans by force at the first infraction of the narrow limits to be assigned to them. The confidential letters disclose the actual view of the American claims taken by the French Ministers, by whose opinions our commissioners were to be governed, and they show us what would have been the result had those instructions been obeyed. They teach us the motives and the methods of the French court. They enable us to judge of the discernment and skill of the several players in that game of nations in which American interests were so largely involved, and they are more interesting now for the reason that for half a century at least the policy of France has been in dispute. The correspondence of Vergennes has been misrepresented, and the true history of the negotiations falsified and caricatured. Whatever may be thought of the morality or the faith of the efforts of France to secure for Spain the territories, privileges and power which the American people demanded and expected to secure, there will be but small difference of opinion as regards the ingenuity, pertinacity and seeming success up to the actual beginning of the negotiations as regards Oswald's commission, with which the scheme was pushed by Vergennes

* Paris: F. Vieweg, Rue Richelieu 67. 1876.

and his astute agents in America, who used in turn menaces, promises, and even bribes, or, as they termed it, "donatifs * * * donnés ou promis a différents auteurs Américains." M. de Circourt explains in a note that these "donatifs" were "secours temporaires en argent," and adds that this delicate subject has been even in our own day the subject of criticisms and controversies into which he declines to enter.

The diligent efforts of Vergennes to assist Florida Blanca in the enfeeblement of the Republic by securing for Spain the basin of the St. Lawrence and the Lakes, the Mississippi and the fisheries, did not interfere with his assuring Congress that "the King would most readily employ his good offices in support of the United States in all points relating to their prosperity." A committee of Congress, with an amiable credulity which they could hardly have indulged had his Excellency's correspondence been laid before them, reported that "Congress placed the utmost confidence in his Majesty's assurances." It was assumed by members that they could hope for no concession from England unless it was demanded and secured for them by France, and a majority of Congress, at the dictation of M. de la Luzerne, amended the instructions to their peace commissioners, and ordered them "to make the most candid and confidential communications upon all subjects to the ministers of our generous ally the King of France; to undertake nothing in the negotiations for peace or truce without their knowledge, and ultimately to govern themselves by their advice and opinion."

This was the instruction which M. Gerard, in the intercepted letter about the fisheries, exultingly described as making "the King the master of the terms of peace," and under this instruction Messrs. Franklin and Jay consulted Vergennes, when Mr. Oswald appeared with a commission, authorizing him to treat with persons representing the "thirteen Colonies or plantations."

The advice given by Vergennes that they should accept this commission, the singular reasoning by which he supported this view, and his advisement of Mr. Fitzherbert, the British commissioner, that he had given such counsel, were the first great mistakes which led to the overthrow of the policy agreed upon with Spain, and which had been so steadily pursued by the accomplished chief of the French diplomacy. They did not seem to affect Franklin, who was not only a Commissioner for the Peace, but was weighted with the responsibilities of Minister to France, and who still retained his confidence in the good faith of the court, and felt bound to obey the instructions of Congress.

But Jay could conceive of no event which could render it proper and

therefore possible for America to treat in any other character than an independent nation. He could not believe that Congress intended them to follow any advice which might be repugnant to their dignity and interest. And in defense of their dignity he broke the instructions as he would have done a pipe, and wrote to America: "I told the minister that we neither could nor would treat with any nation in the world on any other than an equal footing."

The next move on the part of Vergennes was also in furtherance of the Spanish scheme, and proved the last and fatal act that worked its overthrow. The agreement of Vergennes with Florida Blanca, the Premier of Spain, for securing to that power the Mississippi and the great Western territory, and for confining the United States to a narrow strip along the Atlantic, could only be effected by the concurrence of England; and to submit his wishes on this and other questions to that power, Vergennes selected his ablest and most trusted secretary, M. de Rayneval, the brother of M. Gerard, who had been the French Minister at Philadelphia. Rayneval left for England secretly and under an assumed name, on the 7th September, 1782. On the 9th of September Jay heard of his departure, and correctly assuming that this secret mission imported danger to the American claims, he deemed it prudent to meet it by a counter move, and engaged Benjamin Vaughan, an Englishman, who had been employed confidentially by Lord Shelburne at Paris, and retained there at the earnest desire of Franklin, to convey to Lord Shelburne in conversation their sentiments and resolution; and Vaughan at once wrote to Shelburne and asked him to delay taking any measures with Rayneval.

Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, of the Foreign Office, in the recent life of his grandfather, Lord Shelburne, gives some account of these two missions, representing the opposing claims of France and Spain on the one hand, and of the United States on the other. Rayneval, as had been anticipated, "played into the hands of the English ministers," opposing the American claims to the fisheries, and the western and northern boundaries: his opinions being carefully noted by Shelburne and Grantham. Then came Vaughan, arriving almost simultaneously, charged with the views carefully prepared for that contingency. The English cabinet thought it clear that a profound feud had sprung up between the French and their American allies, and that they should take advantage of it. A new commission, to treat with "the United States of America," was at once ordered and dispatched by Vaughan himself; and it indicated that England preferred the friendship and prosperity of America to the overtures of Vergennes for her enfeeblement and humiliation. With the new commis-

sion the United States entered upon the negotiation neither as revolted colonies of England, nor submissive dependencies of France, but as an independent and sovereign power.

At this juncture Adams arrived from Holland, and heartily approved the course pursued by Jay. Franklin agreed to act with them without consulting the French Court, and in the negotiation which ensued, the American commissioners, acting with unbroken harmony, secured the great territories and the fisheries of which France and Spain had combined to deprive them.*

When a copy of the Provisional Articles, signed and sealed, was given to Vergennes, he wrote to Rayneval that the concessions by England were

* In addition to the flood of light thrown upon the unfriendly policy of M. de Vergennes toward America in the peace negotiation by the "*Documents inédits*" contained in the third volume of De Circourt, and the invaluable contribution to American history furnished by Sir Edmund Fitzmaurice in the Life of Shelburne, reference may also be made with great advantage to the fourth volume of Mr. Lecky's History of Europe, where the American reader will find an admirable sketch of the peace negotiations with an intelligent comprehension of the facts, and a just appreciation of the difficulties and dangers by which the American negotiators were beset, and of the great triumph which they achieved.

"It is impossible," writes Mr. Lecky, "not to be struck with the skill, hardihood and good fortune that marked the American negotiation. Everything the United States could, with any shadow of plausibility, demand from England they obtained, and much of what they obtained was granted them in opposition of the two great powers by whose assistance they had triumphed. * * * America, though she had been reduced by the war to almost the lowest stage of impoverishment and impotence, gained at the peace almost everything that she desired, and started with every promise of future greatness upon the mighty career that was before her."

As this brief notice of the Count de Vergennes, hastily prepared at the request of the editor of this Magazine to accompany the portrait of that eminent diplomatist, has alluded to the mission of Benjamin Vaughan as the move which arrested the scheme of American spoliation, so long pursued by the courts of France and Spain, and for which Rayneval attempted to enlist the aid of England, it may be proper to allude to the career of that gentleman, and his relations with Lord Shelburne, as showing his peculiar fitness for the delicate mission to which he was appointed, and the duties of which he performed so discreetly and successfully that Jay wrote to Secretary Livingston, "Mr. Vaughan greatly merits our acknowledgments."

Benjamin Vaughan, LL.D. was born in Jamaica, April 19, 1751. He was educated at Cambridge, England; studied law at the Temple, and medicine at Edinburgh. Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice says that Lord Shelburne in July, 1782, dispatched to Paris "Benjamin Vaughan, the Political Economist, an intimate friend of Franklin, to give private assurances to the latter that the change of administration brought with it no change of policy." His stay in Paris not being understood by Mr. Oswald, Shelburne wrote to Oswald, Oct. 21, 1782, that "it had been at the desire of Dr. Franklin." When Lord Shelburne lost his second wife, it is mentioned in his life, that "during her last illness Benjamin Vaughan and Bentham were the only persons permitted to see her." In 1792 Mr. Vaughan was elected to Parliament, succeeding Barré in the representation of Calne. In 1796 he removed to America, settling at Hallowell, Maine, and a part of his valuable library he gave to Bowdoin College.

greater than he had believed possible, and Rayneval, equally astounded, replied that it seemed to him like a dream.

Vergennes was too accomplished a diplomat to quarrel with the Americans for their success. The signing of the Provisional Articles quieted the feud which to the English had seemed inevitable. It had given the United States a position of dignity and strength, which made it the more essential both for the prestige and the interest of France to maintain the most friendly relations with the new power to which Great Britain was so complaisant. Vergennes made us almost immediately a new loan, and soon after wrote to Luzerne, of the French commerce to America, that he felt more than ever the necessity of granting it encouragement and favor.

Jefferson, who admired and liked Vergennes, thus wrote of him to Madison, January 30, 1782, and the note seems to have the more interest from the fact that Vergennes died February 13, two weeks after it was written: "The Count de Vergennes is ill. The possibility of his recovery renders it dangerous for me to express a doubt of it; but he is in danger. He is a great minister in European affairs, but has very imperfect ideas of our institutions and no confidence in them. His devotion to the principles of pure despotism renders him unaffectionate to our governments. But his fear of England makes him value us as a make-weight. He is cool and reserved in political conversation, but free and familiar on other subjects, and a very attentive, agreeable person to do business with. It is impossible to have a clearer, better organized head, but age has chilled his heart."

Whatever the adherence of Vergennes to absolute monarchy and his dislike for republican institutions, whatever his devotion to the House of Bourbon and his indifference to the interests and honor of America, however unfriendly to us his compact with Spain touching the fisheries and the boundaries, the Count de Vergennes will stand in history as one whose policy, if unfortunate for France and disappointing for Spain, materially assisted in the war for American independence, especially in its crowning victory at Yorktown, and perhaps advanced at the peace, however unintentionally, the boundaries, the resources and the greatness of the Republic.

John Jay

PURITANISM IN NEW YORK

ITS ORIGIN AND GROWTH UNTIL THE MIDDLE OF THE XVIII CENTURY

Puritanism is the great religious force which wrought a second Reformation in Great Britain. The Reformation of the 16th century was restrained by the vast power of the monarch and his prelates. It assumed a form differing from the two great branches of the Reformation which flowed from Wittenberg and Zurich. The British Reformation was directed by civil power, so as to carry the nation as a mass in the Reform movement. It was a conservative reformation compromising with the past and designed to be an Anglo-Catholicism rather than a Protestantism. But the Protestant party was not satisfied, still less was the Papal party willing to submit. Hence the religious conflicts which have been the chief forces in the history of Great Britain and her colonies. The Protestant and the Papal parties were restrained but not conquered. They were constrained by persecution to become more earnest, devout and zealous. The Protestant party urged a thorough Reformation. It advanced beyond the Protestantism of the Continent to higher and grander principles of Reform. It gave British Protestantism the characteristic name of Puritanism.

It is common to think of Puritanism in connection with the Congregationalism of New England, or the Nonconformity of England. Puritanism is rather the reforming party in the churches of Great Britain which eliminated itself from the Papal party on the right and the Anglo-Catholic party in the center, and pressed for the complete reformation of the national churches. The struggle of parties continued with varying fortune in the successive reigns from Henry VIII. to Charles I., when the folly and madness of Archbishop Laud brought on the life-and-death struggle which gave the Puritans the control of Great Britain for twenty years. The Puritans strove to reform the national churches of England, Scotland and Ireland, and unite them in one church government with the same forms of worship and doctrine. This was the great aim of the Long Parliament and the Westminster Assembly of divines. They failed owing to the development of three antagonistic parties among the Puritans themselves, namely, Episcopal Puritans, Presbyterian Puritans and Congregational Puritans. The majority of these Puritans in the 17th century were Presbyterians, and they produced their platform in the Westminster symbols.

But they were prevented by Cromwell and the Congregationalists from putting their church government in operation. And there was no inconsiderable number of Puritans who preferred the Episcopal form of government and a liturgical worship. These conformed to the established Church of England at the Restoration. In New England, Puritanism tended to Congregationalism, although there was no inconsiderable amount of Presbyterianism mingled with it.

Puritanism is easily recognized by its principles. It insists upon the Protestant doctrine of Justification by faith *alone*. It maintains the Calvinistic doctrine of salvation by grace *alone*. It recognizes the principle of Wicklif and Tyndall; the authority of the word of God *alone*, in matters of religion. The Puritans urged reformation in doctrine, worship, church government and life, in accordance with the word of God *alone*. The Puritans also maintained the principle of a National Church. The Separatists were of a different stock, carrying on the Anabaptist movement of the period of the Reformation. It was not until the Restoration that Presbyterian Puritanism and Congregational Puritanism were excluded from the Church of England and forced to separation.

The Restoration and the conflicts terminating in the Revolution of 1688 established the Episcopal Church of England and Ireland, the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and in a certain sense the Congregational Church of New England. It was the irony of the situation which led the Presbyterians of Scotland and the Congregationalists of New England to speak of the Episcopal separation, as they themselves were named Non-conformists in England and Ireland.

New York had been settled by Hollanders. The Reformed Church of Holland was the national church of the colony. Holland in the 17th century distinguished herself above all other lands for religious toleration. Here the exiled Puritans of the several sorts found a home, and from thence they migrated singly and in bands to America. Presbyterian Puritanism was nearest of kin to the Reformed Church of Holland. The Puritans gave to the Hollanders their Pietism and Covenant Theology, and made a poor exchange in accepting so much of Dutch Scholasticism. From Holland the Congregational type of Puritans migrated to New England; Presbyterian Puritans sought refuge with the Dutch in New Amsterdam.

Queens and Suffolk Counties, Long Island, and Westchester County on the borders of Connecticut, were settled by Puritans from New England and from Old England. These seem to have been chiefly Presbyterian in their tendencies, although they employed their township organizations for the

calling and support of their ministers, in accordance with their views as to the union of Church and State.

The earliest Puritan minister in the State of New York seems to have been John Young. He settled at Southold, L. I., and organized a township church, October 21, 1640. He had been ordained in the Church of England. He remained at Southold until his death, February 24, 1672.*

The second Puritan minister was Abraham Pierson, a Yorkshire clergyman, who settled at Lynn, Mass., and from thence removed to Southampton, L. I., with his flock in 1641. In 1644 he removed with a portion of them to Branford, Conn., and again, in 1667, to Newark, N. J., where the first Puritan church in New Jersey was established.†

The third Puritan minister was Francis Doughty. He had probably been vicar of Sodbury, Gloucester, England, where he was silenced for nonconformity. He emigrated to Taunton, Mass., in 1637. When the church was gathered in that place, Doughty maintained the Presbyterian doctrine of infant baptism, over against the Congregational, and "opposed the gathering of the church there, alleging that according to the covenant of Abraham all men's children that were of baptized parents, and so Abraham's children, ought to be baptized, and spoke so in public, or to that effect, which was held a disturbance, and the minister spoke to the magistrate to order him. The magistrate commanded the constable, who dragged Master Doughty out of the assembly. He was forced to go away from thence with his wife and children."‡ He and Richard Smith, an elder, and their adherents, were forced to exile by the Congregational majority. They found refuge among the Dutch. Doughty secured the conveyance of Mespat (near Newtown), L. I., with the view of establishing a Presbyterian colony there. The settlement was begun in 1642, but the Indian war broke up the colony in 1643, and the minister and his flock went to Manhattan Island for shelter during the war. He became the first Puritan, and, indeed, Presbyterian minister, in our metropolis. He ministered here from 1643-48, and was supported by voluntary contributions from the Puritans and the Dutch of the city.§ He also preached at Flushing for awhile. The Dutch ministers, Megapolensis and Drusius, report August 6, 1657, to the Classis of Amsterdam: "At Flushing they heretofore had a Presbyterian Preacher who conformed to our church, but many of them became endowed with divers opinions, and it was with them *quot homines tot sen-*

* E. Whitaker, History of Southold, 1881, p. 113.

† It still lives, vigorous and strong, as the First Presbyterian Church of Newark.

‡ Thomas Lechford, Plain Dealing, 1642, p. 40.

§ Doc. Hist. N. Y., I. pp. 305-6, 311, 331, 334-5, 341, 426, 553; II. 93.

tentia. They absented themselves from preaching, nor would they pay the preacher his promised stipend. The said preacher was obliged to leave the place and to repair to the English Virginias." * His daughter married Adrien Van der Donck, a prominent lawyer of the city. Owing to the failure of the colony, Govs. Kieft and Stuyvesant sought to recover the claim upon Mespat, but Doughty declined to restore it. He was at last glad to escape from the wrath of Stuyvesant, and fled to Maryland, where he preached to the Puritans for many years.

The fourth Puritan minister was Richard Denton, minister at Halifax, England, settled at Wethersfield, Conn., in 1630. He removed to Stamford, Conn., in 1641, and in 1644, with a portion of his flock, to Hempstead, L. I., where he remained until 1658, when he returned to England. Denton was a Presbyterian. He is so recognized by the Dutch pastors of New Amsterdam, who wrote to the Classis of Amsterdam in 1657: "At Heemstede, about seven Dutch miles from here, there are some Independants; also many of our persuasion and Presbyterians. They have also a Presbyterian preacher named Richard Denton, an honest, pious, and learned man. He hath in all things conformed to our church. The Independants of the place listen attentively to his preaching, but when he began to baptize the children of such parents as are not members of the church, they sometimes broke out of the church." † He also ministered to the Puritans in our metropolis in an English Puritan church. This was not a separate church building, but the band of Puritans to whom Doughty ministered. They worshipped alongside of the Dutch and the French, in the same church building within the fort, and at different hours of service. The evidence for this service of Denton in our city is derived from an ancient book of records handed down in the author's family:

"Sarah Woolsey was born in New York, August ye 3d, in ye year 1650. Aug 7, she was baptized in ye English church by Mr. Denton, Capt. Newtown godfather. George Woolsey was born in New York, October 10. 1652; October 12 he was baptized in the Dutch church, Mrs. Newtown godmother. Thomas Woolsey was born at Hemsted, April 10th 1655, and there baptized by Mr Denton. Rebeckar Woolsey was born at New York Feb 13. 1659. Feb 16 she was baptized in the Dutch church, Mr. Bridges, godfather, and her grandmother, godmother." The distinction is clearly drawn between *English* church and *Dutch* church. The connection between New York and Hempstead is manifest. The minister, Mr. Denton, baptized one child at Hempstead, another in the English church in New York. Mr. Denton did not baptize Rebecka in 1659, because he

* Doc. Hist. N. Y., III. p. 106.

† Doc. Hist. N. Y., III. p. 107.

had just left Hempstead for England in 1658. Denton was therefore the second Presbyterian minister in New York city.

From this time forward Puritan ministers settle in New York State with greater rapidity and in greater numbers. Joseph Fordham settled at Southampton, L. I., in 1646, Thomas James at Easthampton, L. I., in 1648, and John Moore at Middleburgh, L. I., in 1652.

There is an interesting description of a Puritan service at Westchester conducted by two laymen, Robert Bassett and a Mr. Bayley, probably ruling elders, in 1656,* the one reading a sermon, the other leading in prayer.

William Leverich settled at Huntington, L. I., in 1658; Jonah Fordham at Hempstead in 1660; Zechariah Walker at Jamaica, in 1662. We do not know whether Fordham and Walker ministered to the Puritans in New York City. It is more than likely, in view of the previous connection through Doughty and Denton, and the subsequent connection through Vesey, McNish and Makemie. Thus when the colony of New Amsterdam was surrendered to the Duke of York, September, 1664, there were within the present bounds of our State 6 Puritan ministers settled with their flocks. There were Puritan bands in New York City and at Rye and Westchester without pastors.

The colony was recaptured by Holland July, 1673, and finally surrendered to the English October, 1674. Edmund Andros became governor under James II., and at once entered upon a struggle with the Dutch and Puritan population in civil affairs, but, so far as New York is concerned, seems not to have troubled the Puritan churches. John Bishop, Puritan pastor at Stamford, writes to Increase Mather, July 10, 1677, that there had been "two churches lately gathered in the island, viz., at Jamaica and Huntington, with the Gov.; good and free allowance, as soon as asked, and that in the way of New England Congregational churches, which liberty I doubt not but he will readily grant to any people, and able ministers if desired."† Gov. Andros reports in 1678, "There are religions of all sorts, one Church of England, several Presbyterians and Independents, Quakers, and Anabaptists of several sects, some Jews, but Presbyterians and Independents most numerous and substantial."‡ During these times, the Puritan churches lost many of their veteran pastors, but continued to increase in numbers:

Nathaniel Brewster settled at Brookhaven and supplied Eastchester in 1665; *John Prudden*, supplied Jamaica, 1670; *Eliphalet Jones*, Rye, *Ezekiel*

* Doc. Hist. N. Y., III. p. 557.

† Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. VIII. 4th Series, p. 302.

‡ G. H. Moore, Hist. Mag. 1867, p. 325.

Fogg, Eastchester, and *Joshua Hobart*, Southold, in 1674; *John Harri-man*, Southampton, and *William Woodruff*, Jamaica, and *Peter Prudden*, Rye, in 1675; *Thomas Denham* settled at Rye, 1677, and *Morgan Jones* at Jamaica in 1678. Thus, at the time when Gov. Andros made this report 8 Puritan ministers were at work in the province of New York. During the reign of James II. Puritans flourished in the province. The only difficulty was to secure a sufficient number of ministers. The great charter of 1683-4 granted liberty of conscience and protected the religious rights of the Puritans as well as the Dutch.

The Revolution of 1688 brought toleration to the Puritans of Great Britain, but brought the Puritanism of America into graver perils. After the disorders of the Revolution, Gov. Sloughter, "a profligate, needy, and narrow-minded adventurer," took charge of the Province, and the troubles of the Puritans began. In the meanwhile, *Joseph Taylor* settled at Southampton in 1680; *Jeremiah Hobart*, at Hempstead, 1683; *Warham Mather*, at Westchester, *John Woodbridge*, at Rye, 1684; *Dugald Simson*, a Scotch Presbyterian, at Brookhaven, 1685; *Joseph Whiting*, at Southampton, 1687. Thus in 1691 there were 9 Puritan ministers at work in the Province. In 1691 the Puritans of the metropolis desired to have *Edward Slade* as their minister, but it is probable that Gov. Sloughter would not consent.* Gov. Fletcher, a "covetous and passionate man,"† took charge August, 1692, and exerted himself to overthrow the Puritanism of the Province and establish the Church of England.

In 1693 an Act of Assembly was passed to enable townships to settle ministers and provide for their support. The Puritan towns availed themselves of the Act, and chose vestrymen and church-wardens to carry it into effect. February 12, 1694, the Vestrymen of New York City assembled, all members being present.

"Upon reading an Act of Gen^l. Assembly entituled an Act for settling a ministry and raising a maintenance for them in the city of New York, & itt was proposed to this board what Persuasion the person should be of by them to be called to have the Care of Souls and officiate in the office of minister of this Citty, by Majority of Votes itt is the opinion of y^e board that a Dissenting Minister be called to officiate and have the care of souls for this Citty as aforesaid."‡

But the Governor would not give his consent to a Dissenting minister.

As Dr. Moore says: "There can be no doubt that it was the intention of the Assembly to provide for the maintenance of the Dissenting clergy.

* G. H. Moore, Hist. Mag. 1867, p. 326. † Bancroft, Hist. U. S., II. p. 38.

‡ G. H. Moore, Hist. Mag. 1867, p. 330.

Such had been the manifest tendency of the previous legislation on the subject. All the Assembly but one were Dissenters, and the Church of England was hardly known in the Province. . . . In fact, it was arbitrarily and illegally wrested from its true bearing, and made to answer the purpose of the English Church party, which was a very small minority of the people who were affected by the operation of the law."*

The Governor desired to secure the place for *John Miller*, chaplain of the British forces, but in vain. This same John Miller reports in 1695 that there were at least forty families of English Dissenters in the city.

January 26, 1695(6) the Puritan Vestrymen elected by the people, chose *William Vesey* to be their minister. *William Vesey* was born in Braintree, Mass., 1674, graduated Harvard 1693. He was trained by Increase Mather, and sent by him to strengthen the hands of the Puritans in New York. Vesey began preaching at Hempstead, and, as so many of the pastors of Jamaica and Hempstead before him and after him, also ministered to the Puritans of our metropolis in the year 1694-5. He was thus the fourth Puritan minister known to have been connected with our city.

The Church of England men were now determined to take matters in their own hands without regard to the Vestrymen. Accordingly ten principal men, led by Cols. Heathcote and Morris, March 19, 1695-6, petitioned Gov. Fletcher for leave to purchase ground and erect a church. This was granted, and they were permitted to collect funds for the purpose, and received aid in every way from the authorities.

Col. Heathcote also made a bold and successful stroke of policy. He prevailed upon the Puritan minister to conform to the Church of England and to sail to England for orders.

August 2, 1697, Vesey was ordained by the Lord Bishop of London, and returned to become the first rector of the Episcopal Church in this city, and its most zealous advocate against his former friends and associates. The conformity of Vesey to the Church of England was the most unfortunate event that could have happened to Presbyterian Puritanism in New York State. It gave the Episcopal Church the primacy in the city, which by right belonged to the Presbyterian Puritans. We have a Presbyterian view of it from a letter of *James Anderson*, the first Presbyterian pastor, December 3, 1717. He says: "After the English had it, endeavors were used by the chief of the people who understood English, toward the settlement of an English Dissenting minister in it, and, accordingly, one was called from New England, who, after he had preached some time here, hav-

* Hist. Mag. 1867, p. 328.

ing a prospect and promise of more money than what he had among the Dissenters, went to Old England, took orders from the Bishop of London, and came back here as a member of the Established Church of England. Here he yet is, and has done, and still is doing what he can to ruin the Dissenting interest in the place."

The Rev. Alex. Campbell, a missionary of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, who was severely, but, as we believe, justly dealt with by Vesey, says in bitterness: "He was a bigot for the N. E. Independency before he came over to the church, and now a bigot for the church against the Dissenters." "In the height of his zeal for non-conformity the Hon. good-natured Col. Heathcote, admiring the greatness of his memory and the volubility of his speech, by the prospect of a much better settlement at New York than what he had at Hempstead, prevailed with him to go to England and receive orders."* In our judgment these were not the motives which influenced Vesey to conform to the Church of England. At this time there was a strong tendency on the part of the Presbyterian type of Puritans to conform in England, on account of the liberality of the leading bishops and their antagonism to the Jacobite High-Churchmen. There was the feeling among Presbyterian Puritans that the Episcopal form of government was preferable to the Congregational. The Low-Church Episcopalian and Low-Church Presbyterian of England were scarcely different. The leading Presbyterians of England were willing to accept Archbishop Usher's model, and a little reasonableness on the part of the returning bishops would have swept the entire Presbyterian party of England into the Established Church. One can readily understand that a man like Vesey, with such tendencies, could easily have been prevailed upon to see the advantages of combining the Presbyterian and Episcopal parties of our metropolis in one church organization.

We have still another view of this from an address of the friends of Gov. Hunter to the Lord Bishop of London (circa 1714). "In the year 1697, Col. Fletcher, the Governor, by his example and countenance, promoted the building of Trinity Church in New York by voluntary contribution, and placed in it the present incumbent, Mr. Vesey, who was at that time a dissenting preacher on Long Island. He had received his education in Harvard College under that rigid Independent, Increase Mather, and was sent from thence by *him* to confirm the minds of those who had removed for their convenience from New England to this province, for Mr. Mather having advice that there was a minister of the Established Church of England come over in quality of chaplain of the forces, and fearing that the

* Protestation, N. Y., 1733.

Common Prayer and the hated ceremonies of our church might gain ground, he spared no pains and care to spread the warmest of his emissaries through this province, but Col. Fletcher who saw into this design took off Mr. Vesey by an invitation to this Living, a promise to advance his stipend considerably, and to recommend him for holy orders to your Lordships predecessor, all which was performed accordingly, and Mr. Vesey returned from England in Priests orders." * Whatever the motive of Vesey may have been, there can be no doubt that the mass of the English speaking people of the metropolis were Presbyterian Puritans, and that he was called to be their pastor. The Church of England party consisted of a few new comers in the army and civil government. Vesey betrayed the Presbyterians who had chosen him as their leader. We are not surprised that his treachery was in part successful. The Presbyterian vestrymen were not allowed to call another minister. Instead of the legal vestrymen of the act of 1693, an extraordinary vestry, composed of members of the Church of England, and chosen by members of the Church of England, was constituted by authority of the Governor. † The Presbyterians had nowhere else to worship in their own tongue, so that for several years many of them worshiped in Trinity. As the friends of Gov. Hunter say (circa 1714), "We have yet no dissenting congregation in English in the town, which we fear makes ours larger than it would be if there was one." ‡

The Puritans enjoyed a brief rest under the administration of the "kindlier" Earl of Bellamont, who arrived in 1696, but unfortunately he soon died, and was succeeded by the infamous Lord Cornbury, who "joined the worst form of arrogance to intellectual imbecility." §

The able, genial, but crafty Col. Heathcote settled at Scarsdale Manor in Westchester county in 1692. He became colonel of militia of the county, and the most efficient advocate of the Church of England. He did more for its establishment in the province of New York than any one else, or indeed than all others combined. Heathcote tells us something of his own methods in a letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, April 10, 1704:

"The people of Westchester, Eastchester, and a place called Lower Yonkers, agreed with one Warren Mather, and the people of Rye, with one Mr. Woodbridge, both of New England, there being at that time scarce 6 in the whole county, who so much as inclined to the church. After Mather had been with them for some time, Westchester parish made

* Doc. Hist. N. Y., III. p. 438.

† Doc. Hist. N. Y., III. p. 407 seq.

‡ Doc. Hist., III. p. 444; C. W. Baird, *Mag. Am. Hist.* 1879, p. 605.

§ Bancroft's *Hist. U. S.*, II. p. 41.

choice of me for one of their church wardens, in hopes of using my interest with Col. Fletcher to have Mather inducted to the living. I told them it was altogether impossible for me to comply with their desires, it being wholly repugnant to the laws of England to compel the subject to pay for the maintenance of any minister who was not of the national church, and that it lay not in any Gov^r power to help them, but since they were so zealous for having religion and good order settled amongst 'em, I would propose a medium in that matter, which was, that there being at Boston, a French Protestant minister, Mr. Bondett, a very good man, who was in orders from my Lord of London and could preach in English and French, and the people of New Rochelle being destitute of a minister, we would call Mr. Bondett to the living, and the parish being large enough to maintain two, we would likewise continue Mr. Mather, and support him by subscription. The vestry seemed to be extremely well pleased with this proposal, and desired me to send for Mr. Bondett, which I immediately did, hoping by that means to bring them over to the church, but Mather, apprehending what I aimed at, persuaded the vestry to alter their resolutions, and when he came they refused to call him, so that projection failing me, and finding that it was impossible to make any progress toward settling the church so long as Mather continued amongst us, I made it my business in the next place to devise ways to gett him out of the country, which I was not long in contriving, which being effected and having gained some few proselytes in every town, and those who were of the best esteem amongst 'em, who having none to oppose them, and being assisted by Mr. Vesey and Mr. Bondett, who very often preached in several parts of the country, baptizing the children, by easy methods the people were soon wrought into a good opinion of the church, and indeed much beyond my expectations."

Thus the artful Col. Heathcote knew how to get rid of the faithful Puritan minister, and to gain over the unfaithful Vesey and Bondett, so as to accomplish his design of transferring the Puritan population into the bosom of the Church of England. This was the condition of affairs when Gov. Cornbury arrived and added his brutal tyranny to the artful schemes of Col. Heathcote.

In the meanwhile the churches of Great Britain were arming themselves for more aggressive work. In 1690 the Presbyterian and Congregational Puritans combined in a union in London, and similar unions were constructed all over England. July 1, 1690, a General Fund was established by the two denominations to aid in educating ministers to supply feeble churches and the extending of the Puritan faith. But unfortunately the

Congregationalists and Presbyterians could not agree, and accordingly they divided their strength and organized a Presbyterian fund and a Congregational fund. The Church of England roused herself to greater activity in behalf of the colonies. Dr. Bray was the prime mover in this. In 1696 he went over to Maryland as commissary of the Bishop of London. In 1698 the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge was founded for the purpose of promoting Christian knowledge in the plantations by furnishing Bibles, prayer books, and religious treatises and erecting parochial libraries. Dr. Bray returned to England in 1701 and presented a noble memorial, in which he says: "My design is not to intermeddle where Christianity under any form has obtained possession, but to represent rather the deplorable state of the English colonies, where they have been in a manner abandoned to Atheism; for want of a clergy settled among them."* Through his influence the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was organized in 1701. This Society at once began an aggressive work in the colonies. The first missionary of the Society in New York was John Bartow, who was put in possession of the Puritan churches of Eastchester, Westchester and Jamaica, by the arbitrary power of Gov. Cornbury. The Puritan ministers Joseph Morgan of Westchester and John Hubbard of Jamaica were forced to retire from their church buildings and parsonages.

A letter of Mr. Bartow to the Secretary from W. Chester, N. Y., Dec. 1st, 1707, gives a graphic representation of the struggle from his own partisan point of view. He says that "after winter was over I lived at Col. Graham's, 6 miles from the church; and all the summer preached twice every Sunday, sometimes at Westchester and sometimes at Jamaica on Long Island about 2 miles distant from Mr. Graham . . . and once I met with great disturbance at Jamaica. Mr. Hobbart their Presbyterian minister, having bin for some time at Boston returned to Jamaica the Saturday night as I came to it; and sent to me at my lodgings (being then in company with our chief justice Mr. Mumpesson and Mr. Carter her Maj^{ty} comptroller) to know if I intended to preach on the morrow? I sent him answer I did intend it. The next morning the bell rung as usual but before the last time of ringing Mr. Hobbart was got into the church and had begun his service, of which notice was given me, whereupon I went into the church and walked straightway to the pew, expecting Mr. Hobbart would desist, being he knew I had orders from the Governor to officiate there; but he persisted and I forbore to make any interruption. In the afternoon I prevented him; beginning the service of the church of En-

* Memorial, London, 1700.

gland before he came; who was so surprised when after he came to the church desk and saw me performing divine service, that he suddenly started back and went aside to an orchard hard by; and sent in some to give the word that Mr. Hobbart would preach under a tree; when I perceived a whispering thro the church and an uneasiness of many people, some going out, some seemed amazed not yet determined to go or stay. In the meantime some that were gone out returned again for their seats, and then we had a shameful disturbance, hawling and juggling of seats; shoving one the other off, carrying them out and returning again for more so that I was fain to leave off till the disturbance was over and a separation made by which I lost about half of the congregation, the rest remaining devout and attentive the whole time of service, after which we lockt the church door and committed the key unto the hands of the sheriff. We were no sooner got into an adjoining house but some persons came to demand the key of their meeting house, which being denyed they went and broke the glass window and put a boy in, to open the door, and put in their seats and took away the pew cushion, saying they would keep that honour for their own minister; the scolding and wrangling that ensued are by me ineffable. The next time, I saw my Lord Cornbury he thanked me, and said he would do the church and me justice, accordingly he summoned Mr. Hobbart and the head of the faction before him, and forbade Mr. Hobbart ever more to preach in that church for in regard it was built by a publick tax it did appertain to the established church, which it has quietly remained ever since and now in possession of our reverend brother Mr. Urquhart. My Lord Cornbury threatned them all with the penalty of the statute for disturbing divine service but upon their submission and promise of future quietness and peace he pardoned the offense. Not long after this, my Lord requested me to go and preach at East Chester, accordingly I went (tho some there had given out threatning words should I dare to come) but tho I was there very early and the people had notice of my coming, their Presbyterian minister, Mr. Morgan had begun service in the meeting house, to which I went straitway and continued the whole time of service, without interruption, and in the afternoon I was permitted to perform the church of England service, Mr. Morgan being present and neither he nor the people seemed to be dissatisfied, and after some time of preaching there afterwards, they desired me to come oftener, and I concluded to minister there once a month, which now I have done for about three years, and Mr. Morgan is retired into New England."*

* It was not until the year 1727, after many years of strife and litigation, that the Presbyterians of Jamaica gained possession of their church building and other property which had been illegally and violently taken from them, and was at last restored by court of law.

Col. Heathcote represents that Joseph Morgan was ready to conform. But in this case he was hasty in judgment. Morgan was of tougher fiber than Vesey. He resisted all the influence brought to bear upon him and remained faithful. He labored for many years as a Presbyterian minister, and died in New Jersey in connection with the Synod of Philadelphia. Mr. Hubbard continued the struggle at Jamaica for several years, preaching in barns and private houses. Rye was taken possession of by Thomas Pritchard, and afterwards by Mr. Muirson, and John Jones, pastor of Bedford, was forced to retire to Connecticut after arrest and reprimand before the Council.*

But all this was preliminary to the conflict which was carried on in New York City in the spring and summer of 1707.

Francis Makemie, a Scotch-Irish minister, came to America in 1683, and settled on the Elizabeth River, Virginia. He preached here and there as an itinerant in Virginia for several years. He went to Barbadoes, and was there licensed under the Toleration Act; remained pastor several years, until, in 1698, he removed to Accomac county, Virginia, and established several preaching places which were licensed according to the law of the colony. In 1704 he went to London and appealed to the London Boards for funds and men. The London Puritan ministers supplied support for two missionaries for two years, and he returned with John Hampton, an Irishman, and George McNish, a Scotchman, in 1705. In the spring of 1706 these three united with four Puritan ministers of Pennsylvania and Delaware in the erection of the first American classical Presbytery in Philadelphia. Makemie, in a letter to Benj. Colman, March 28, 1707, states "our design is to meet yearly, and oftener, if necessary, to consult the most proper measures for advancing religion and propagating Christianity in our various stations." The organization of the Presbytery was to consolidate the Puritan forces of the Middle colonies. The Massachusetts ministers combined in 1705 in Associations and Standing Councils. The Connecticut churches in 1708 organized on the Saybrook platform and in consociations. The Puritans of the American colonies realized that they were now to struggle with the organized energies of the Church of England with all the power and influence of the Tory Governors at its back.

After the adjournment of the Presbytery, Oct. 27, 1706, Francis Makemie took with him John Hampton and set out on a journey to Boston, probably to consult with the Boston ministers. They stopped at New York on their way. They were invited by the Puritans of the city to

* C. W. Baird, *Hist. of Bedford Church*, 1882 p. 36 seq.

preach for them. The consistory of the Dutch Church, in accordance with their generous custom, offered their church edifice for the purpose. But their kindness was frustrated by the refusal of Gov. Cornbury to permit it. Makemie therefore preached Jan. 20, 1706-7 in the private house of William Jackson on Pearl Street.* William Jackson had been chosen vestryman for several years. He had taken part in calling Slade and Vesey as Puritans. He and the other Puritans of the metropolis were only waiting for an opportunity to secure a Puritan minister. On the same day Hampton preached at Newtown on Long Island. On the following Tuesday Makemie, with Hampton, went to Newtown to preach on the next day according to appointment, but they were there arrested on a warrant from Gov. Cornbury, on the ground that they had preached without his permission. They were detained until March 1st, when they were brought before the Supreme Court on the writ of *habeas corpus*.

The charge against Hampton was not pressed, but Makemie was released on bail to appear for trial June 3d. He immediately returned to Philadelphia with Hampton to the meeting of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, March 22, 1707. From thence he writes to Benj. Colman, of Boston: "Since our imprisonment we have commenced a correspondence with our Rev. Breth. of the ministry at Boston, which we hope according to our intention has been communicated to you all, whose sympathizing concurrence I cannot doubt of, in an expensive struggle, for asserting our liberty against the powerful invasion of Lord Cornbury, which is not yet over. I need not tell you of a pick^d Jury, and the Penal laws, are invading our American sanctuary, without the least regard to the toleration, which should justly alarm us all."

The New England ministers immediately wrote to Sir Henry Ashurst, Sir Edmund Harrison, and other London agents, April 1, 1707: "Except speedy relief be obtained, the issue will be, not only a vast oppression on a very worthy servant of God, but also a confusion upon the whole body of Dissenters in these colonies, where they are languishing under my Lord Cornbury's arbitrary and unaccountable government. We do therefore earnestly solicit you, that you would humbly petition the Queens majesty on this occasion, and represent the sufferings of the Dissenters in those parts of America which are carried on in so direct violation of her majesty's commands, of the laws of the nation, and the common rights of Englishmen."

* This sermon was printed under the title: A Good Conversation. A Sermon preached at the city of New York January 19th 1706, 7. By Francis Makemie, Minister of the Gospel of Christ. Boston 1707, and was reprinted in Collections of the New York Historical Society, III., 1870, p. 411.

Makemie returned to New York, and sustained his trial. He was defended by three of the ablest lawyers in the Province—James Reigniere, David Jamison, and William Nicholl, and acquitted on the ground that he had complied with the Toleration Act, and had acted within his rights as a Puritan minister. He produced his license to preach under the Toleration Act in Barbadoes, and this was recognized as valid throughout the Queen's dominions. The claim of Cornbury, that it was necessary that he should have a special license from the Governor of New York, was simply ridiculous. But notwithstanding his acquittal, Makemie was obliged to pay the costs of the prosecution as well as the defense, amounting to the large sum of £83 7s. 6d. This trial, followed by the bitter pursuit of the acquitted man on the part of the wrathful Governor, was the culmination of a series of tyrannical acts which aroused the entire Puritan body of the colonies and of Great Britain to action. The arbitrary acts of Gov. Cornbury were indefensible. He had exceeded his prerogative, transgressed the provisions of the Toleration Act, and violated the liberties of the Dissenters, and indeed twisted and perverted the royal instructions to himself. He even intermeddled with the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in Foreign Parts, and gained the hostility of all the better elements in the Church of England. The New York Assembly, in April, 1707, remonstrated against his actions, charged him with bribery, with encroachment on the liberties of the people, and finally expressed their determination to redress the miseries of their country.* He was recalled, and in 1709 Lord Lovelace took his place, to be followed, in 1710, by Robert Hunter, "the ablest in the series of the royal governors of New York, a man of good temper and discernment."† Under his administration the tyranny ceased, and the struggle of Presbyterianism and Episcopacy in New York was left to its natural development. In 1710 Makemie's friend, Geo. McNish, the Scotsman, came to Jamaica, and at once assumed the leadership of the Puritans in the Province of New York. He was called in a regular way, in accordance with the Act of 1693, by the church-wardens and vestry of Jamaica. He was a member of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, and the Jamaica church now became a part of the Presbytery. Mr. Poyer (missionary of the S. P. G.) was given possession of the church property by the authority of Gov. Hunter. But McNish carried on the battle with great ability. Gov. Hunter declined to put Poyer in possession of the parsonage. He and the chief justice Mompesson, held "that it would be a high crime and a misdemeanor," to do this save by due course of law. His moderation displeased Poyer, Vesey, Bartow, and

* Bancroft, Hist. United States, II. p. 42.

† Bancroft, Hist. U. S., II. p. 44.

Thomas, who had become accustomed to the arbitrary measures of Cornbury, and they complained to the Bishop of London; but the laymen, Col. Heathcote and Col. Morris, and the good chaplain, Sharp, sustained the Governor, and placed themselves on the side of justice and right. Col. Morris, in his letter of February 20, 1711, comparing the strength of Puritans and Churchmen, says: "There is no comparison in our numbers; and they can, on the death of the Incumbent, call persons of their own persuasion in every place but the city of New York. . . . I believe at this day the church had been in much better condition, had there been no act in her favour; for in the Jerseys and Pennsylvania, where there is no act in her favour, there are four times the number of churchmen that there are in the Province of New York, and they are so most of them upon principle. Whereas nine parts in ten of ours will add no credit to whatever church they are of." Col. Heathcote says, in his letter Feb. 11, 1711: "Many of the instruments made use of to settle the church at Jamaica, in its infancy, were of such warm tempers, and, if report is true, so indifferent in their morals, that, from the first beginning, I never expected it would be settled with much peace or reputation."

McNish became a tower of strength, about whom the Puritans of the Province of New York rallied. With the accession of the House of Hanover in 1714, persecution of Puritans in America ceased. In 1715 Samuel Pomeroy, of Newtown, united with the Presbytery of Philadelphia. In 1716 these two were authorized to join with others in establishing the Presbytery of Long Island. Geo. Phillips, of Setauket, united with them, and these three ordained Samuel Gelston, pastor of Southampton in 1717. In the summer of the year 1717, James Anderson, a Scotsman, preached for a month to a small handful of people in New York City. These sent him a call to Newcastle, Delaware, where he was settled. The Synod transported him to New York, and he began his work in the late autumn of 1717. December 3, 1717, he wrote to Principal Sterling, of Glasgow, for aid. The congregation went to work to erect a church building. In the spring of 1718 they were permitted to worship in the City Hall while their church was in course of erection. They raised £600 by private contributions in the city, and applied for aid to the colony of Connecticut and the Church of Scotland. The Legislature of Connecticut ordered a collection throughout the colony, and it was speedily forwarded. There was some delay in the help from Scotland. The cost of ground and expense of building were unexpectedly great. The church became involved in debt and disputes, and were greatly discouraged.

Nov. 22, 1718, William Tennent settled at Eastchester and began to

rebuild Puritanism in Westchester Co. He removed to Bedford May 1, 1720, and remained till Aug., 1726, preaching with wondrous zeal in the several townships of the country.* The troubles in the Presbyterian Church of our city grew worse and worse. Two parties developed, dividing the trustees and people. Dr. Nicoll and Patrick McKnight were with the pastor on one side, Messrs. Livingston and Smith were on the other. Sept. 19, 1720, Anderson and his supporters applied to Gov. Burnett for an Act of Incorporation, and they were opposed by a remonstrance of Gilbert Livingston and Thomas Smith, and failed to secure it.

Sept. 26, 1720, Messrs. Livingston and Smith complained to the Synod and questioned the regularity of the proceedings of the Presbytery of Long Island in settling Mr. Anderson; and complained of his sermons. The Synod sustained the Presbytery in settling him, but expressed the wish that the sermons "had been delivered in softer and milder terms in some passages." Dr. Nicoll represented to the Church of Scotland "that some who had hitherto appeared forward to promote the work not only withdrew their assistance, but vigorously opposed the same. . . . A stop was put to this good work for the space of twelve months, during which time the walls, half raised, stood as a monument of ridicule to the enemies of our profession, who were not wanting to make us their daily derision on this account." The real trouble was with the narrowness of the pastor. He pressed his Scotch peculiarities and offended the English in his congregation, and they could not endure him. They withdrew in 1722, and organized a separate congregation, and called Jonathan Edwards as their minister. Dr. Nicoll was obliged to pay these two trustees who withdrew half of the amount of the bond, £175. These trustees were on the church bond for that amount. Anderson writes to Principal Sterling, Sept. 9, 1723:

"We in this congregation are now, by burden of debt and other unnatural oppression, brought to the utmost pinch of necessity, so that if we meet not with speedy relief, we shall in all human probability, be obliged to quit striving and give up our interest in this place."

Patrick McKnight went to Scotland and appealed to the Synod of Glasgow for aid for the Scotch and English Presbyterian Church in New York (as he calls it), April 5, 1722. Dr. John Nicoll went over to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for aid in the next year. May 16, 1724, it was resolved by the General Assembly to make a collection for the purpose. £401 2s. 6d. were raised and sent over to Dr. Nicoll.

September 20, 1723, a committee of conference with the ministers of Connecticut was appointed by the Synod of Philadelphia, and as a result the

* C. W. Baird, Hist. Bedford Church, p. 45 seq.

two congregations were consolidated, but the wounds were only partially healed. The difficulties assumed another phase. Dr. Nicoll nobly stood in the breach and assumed the debts of the church, in reliance upon the aid promised by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. This help was tardy. After the principal sum had been paid the balance continued to be a burden for a long time. But Dr. Nicoll now had to defend the gifts from Scotland from the pastor and his adherents, who claimed that a portion of them should be set aside to pay the deficiency in the pastor's salary. But Dr. Nicoll rightly contended that these funds were collected in Scotland for a specific object, namely, the church building, and could not be alienated to another object. In this he was sustained by the Church of Scotland in the prolonged discussion which followed. Dr. Nicoll managed the finances too much by himself, and was not sufficiently considerate of his associates in the trusteeship, so that in 1725 the three united with the pastor in demanding an explanation. They complained of charges of interest, non-cancellation of bonds and other irregularities, and brought these charges before the Presbytery of Long Island and transmitted them to Scotland. But Dr. Nicoll was sustained by the people of the church and by the Church of Scotland, so that at last James Anderson was forced to retire and Ebenezer Pemberton was called from New England. Under his pastorate the church prospered greatly. The good Dr. Nicoll departed in peace October, 1743. As his pastor said in a funeral discourse in the First Presbyterian Church in Wall Street: "These walls will be a lasting monument of his zeal for the house and public worship of God, in the erecting of which he spent a considerable part of his estate. While the Presbyterian Church subsists in the city of New York, the name of Dr. Nicoll will ever be remembered with honour, as one of its principal founders and *greatest benefactor*."*

The Presbyterian Church of New York City now became the center of Puritanism in the province. In 1738 the Presbytery of Long Island was enlarged by several churches in New Jersey, and received the name of the Presbytery of New York.

In the middle of the 18th century Puritanism gave birth to Methodism. This subsequently divided into several varieties, the chief of which were—Wesleyan Methodism and the Methodism of Whitefield's connection. But Methodism influenced more or less all the churches of Great Britain and her colonies. It was a great religious movement like Puritanism before it, of which indeed it was a revival. The Methodism of America in the

* Sermon of Eben. Pemberton on the occasion of the death of John Nicoll, M.D. N. Y. 1743. p. 24.

18th century was almost entirely Calvinistic, and it did not result in the organization of new sects. But it unfortunately divided all the churches of the colonies into antagonistic forces. The leaders of American Methodism in New England were Edwards, Bellamy, and Colman; in the Middle States Freylinghausen and Tennent. The Presbyterian, and indeed all the Puritan churches of the Province of New York, were in sympathy with the movement of Methodism, and sustained Whitefield when he came over to be its chief captain in 1739. The churches were greatly enlarged. This is enthusiastically described on the Book of Records of the Trustees of the First Presbyterian Church of New York City thus: "About the year 1739, the showers of heaven began to descend upon the congregation, a large increase of gifts were bestowed upon the minister, and the divine presence manifestly appeared among the people, so that upon our doors it might be truly inscribed *Jehovah Shammah*, the Lord is there. The numbers of the congregation greatly increased and the floor of the building became quite full, which some of us had for a long time scarce hoped to live to see." The revival in New York City was discreetly guided by Pemberton, and in Westchester county by Thomas Smith at Rye, and Samuel Sackett at Bedford, and on Long Island by the ministers generally, except James Davenport of Southold, who with more zeal than discretion was guilty of great excesses, and brought the movement into some disrepute.

This new force of Methodism brought the differences already existing with reference to discipline, subscription, education of ministers, and national traditions, to a head. The Tennents and their adherents were excluded from the Synod of Philadelphia in 1741, in the absence of the entire Presbytery of New York. The excluded Methodists all rallied about the Presbytery of New Brunswick. After several years of ineffectual peacemaking, the Presbytery of New York, 1745, combined with the Presbytery of New Brunswick in erecting the Synod of New York. All the churches of the Synod were in sympathy with Methodism. The Puritan churches of Suffolk county now organized the Suffolk Presbytery, in 1746, and were admitted to the Synod of New York in 1749. In 1752 the Rye church united with the Synod, and thus all the original Puritan churches of New York, organized in the 17th century, were combined in one compact synodical organization.

In 1758 the Synods of Philadelphia and New York combined, after the removal of differences and cooling of animosities and prejudices. Nov. 3, 1759, Elihu Spencer, pastor of the Presbyterian church of Jamaica, writes to Dr. Stiles an account of the Dissenting interest in the Middle States. He represents the Presbyterian strength to be greater than that of all other churches combined. In New York and New Jersey (not separated in his

estimate) there were 46 Presbyterian, 20 Dutch Reformed, 12 Episcopal, 8 Baptist, 3 Independent, 2 Lutheran, and 2 French Protestant.* Thus Puritanism in our State had battled its way for little more than a century. It was planted in little bands in the wilderness. It was nurtured amid perils and persecution. It was toughened by internal strife. It was finally revived by the new impulses of Methodism, and grew with marvelous rapidity. It combined its forces in one compact Presbyterian organization. It was relatively more powerful in the middle of the 18th century than it has ever been since. It has long needed a fresh revival of religious energy. As Protestantism advanced into Puritanism and Puritanism marched forward into Methodism, Methodism will ere long develop into something higher and better than they all. May we not hope that this will be in some more comprehensive phase of Christianity which shall combine in a truly Catholic Church of the Future all those churches which have been separated by the conflicts of the olden time.

Charles A. Briggs

* Mass. Hist. Collection, II. Series I., p. 156.

BUILDING OF THE MONITOR

The story of the *Monitor* has never been told. Certainly not so told that justice has been done to all connected therewith.

The world knows of her brilliant action in Hampton Roads by which our imperiled navy was saved and the fortunes of our civil war changed, but the world does not know the men who made this action possible, and a fact in American history.

The invention belongs to Captain John Ericsson, a man of marvelous ability and most fertile brain, but the creation of the *Monitor* belongs to two distinguished iron-masters of the State of New York, viz., the Hon. John F. Winslow, and his partner in business, the Hon. John A. Griswold. These gentlemen, if they did not go to the front, certainly furnished the sinews of war from brain and purse. In the dark days of the Republic, with earnest, heroic and patriotic purpose, under difficulties that would have appalled most men, they undertook the construction of an iron vessel, the record of which commands the admiration of the world.

It was a step which required large faith, energy and capital on their part.

They were not ship-builders, had no special facilities for constructing vessels, and knew nothing by experience of the business, and there had never been any iron war-ships built in this country; hence, for them to attempt to put afloat any kind of a war vessel was a hazardous experiment.

When we consider that the fighting-machine to which they put hands was entirely unlike anything else in the world, and had met with nothing but disapproval from all the naval authorities to whom the matter was submitted, it will be seen that the risk they took was one such as probably no other firm ever assumed under like circumstances.

Nevertheless, they had the means needful for the experiment, and after full consideration decided, patriotically, to risk all in the attempt, and if they failed, bear the loss and the blame themselves.

The story is in this wise: Messrs. Griswold and Winslow were in Washington in the autumn of 1861, in the adjustment of some claims against the government for iron plating, furnished by them for the war-ship *Galena*. There, through Mr. C. S. Bushnell, the agent of Captain Ericsson, they learned that the plans and specifications for a naval war machine, or floating iron battery, presented by Captain Ericsson, found no favor with the special board appointed by Congress in 1861, to examine

and report upon the subject of iron-clad ships. That board consisted of Commodores Joseph Smith, Hiram Paulding and Charles H. Davis. Ericsson and his agent, Mr. Bushnell, were thoroughly disheartened and demoralized at this failure to interest the government in their plans.

The papers were placed in the hands of Messrs. Winslow and Griswold, with the earnest request that they would examine them, and, if they thought well of them, use their influence with the government for their favorable consideration.

Mr. Winslow carefully read the papers and became satisfied that Ericsson's plan was both feasible and desirable. Commodore Smith was seen, but his interest could not be awakened nor his objections overcome. After conference with his friend and partner, Mr. Griswold, it was determined to take the whole matter to President Lincoln. Accordingly, an interview was arranged with Mr. Lincoln, to whom the plans of Captain Ericsson were presented, with all the unction and enthusiasm of an honest and mastering conviction, by Mr. Winslow and Mr. Griswold, who had now become thoroughly interested in the undertaking. The President listened with attention and growing interest. When they were done, Mr. Lincoln said, "Gentlemen, why do you bring this matter to me? why not take it to the Department having these things in charge?" "It has been taken already to the Department and there met with a repulse, and we come now to you with it, Mr. President, to secure your influence. We are here not simply as business men, but as lovers of our country, and we believe most thoroughly that here is something upon which we can enter that will be of vast benefit to the Republic," was the answer. Mr. Lincoln was roused by the terrible earnestness of Mr. Winslow and his friend Griswold, and said, in his inimitable manner, "Well, I don't know much about ships, though I once contrived a canal-boat, the model of which is down in the Patent Office, the great excellence of which was that it could run where there was no water. But I think there is something in this plan of Ericsson's. I tell you what I will do. I will meet you to-morrow at ten o'clock, at the office of Commodore Smith, and we will talk it all over." The night following this interview was an anxious one with Mr. Winslow, upon whom the onus of presentation and advocacy was thrown.

He scarcely slept, but went through the drawings and specifications of Ericsson, line by line, and item by item, that he might familiarize himself with the whole subject.

The next morning the meeting took place according to the appointment. Mr. Lincoln was present. The Secretary of the Navy, with many of the influential men of the Navy Department, were also there.

The office where they met was rude in all its belongings. Mr. Lincoln sat upon a rough box.

Mr. Winslow, without any knowledge of naval affairs other than that which general reading would give, entered upon his task with considerable trepidation, but his whole heart was in it, and his showing was so earnest, practical and patriotic, that a profound impression was made. "Well," said Mr. Lincoln, after Mr. Winslow had finished, "well, Commodore Smith, what do you think of it?" The Commodore made some general and non-committal reply, whereupon the President, rising from the box, added: "Well, I think there is something in it, as the girl said when she put her leg in the stocking. Good morning, gentlemen," and went out. From this interview grew a government contract with Messrs. Winslow and Griswold for the construction of the *Monitor*, the vessel to be placed in the hands of the government within one hundred days, at a cost of \$275 000. The contract, however, was so burdened with conditions and restrictions that it seemed very hazardous and impossible, almost useless, to undertake the work. Government officials, evidently, had no confidence in the ability of such a vessel as was proposed; hence the conditions imposed amounted almost to an injunction upon the enterprise. After thoroughly weighing the whole subject, and with some verbal protests against its exactions, Messrs. Winslow and Griswold signed the contract on the fourth day of October, 1861, having the courage and patriotism to hazard their reputation and money in building this experimental war craft. They at once entered upon the undertaking. They wrought as by inspiration, all their other work and orders giving preference to this. The hull of the vessel was built by Thomas F. Rowland, agent of the Continental Iron Works, at Greenpoint, L. I., the plates, bars and rivets being largely furnished him from the Albany Iron Works of Troy, N. Y. The Delamater Iron Works, New York, had the manufacture of the steam machinery, boilers, propellers and internal apparatus of the turrets. The port-stoppers were assigned to Charles D. DeLancy, of Buffalo. The work was pushed with all diligence, till the 30th of January, 1862, when the ship was launched at Greenpoint, one hundred and one days from the execution of the contract by all the parties thereto, thus making the work, probably, the most expeditious of any recorded in the annals of mechanical engineering.

The first trial trip of the *Monitor* was on February 19, 1862, and on that day she was delivered to the Navy Yard for her armament and stores. She had two trial trips afterward. Her first and second trips were not satisfactory; the first, because the cut-off valves had been improperly set,

and would not admit the steam properly to the cylinders; the second, from some slight defect in the steering apparatus,—speedily corrected. On the 13th of January, 1862, Lieutenant Worden, now Rear Admiral, was ordered to the command of the *Monitor*, then on the stocks. Thus far there were grave doubts as to her success. Officers of the navy and of the mercantile marine prophesied failure, but the faith of her builders grew from her beginning. On the 20th of February, 1862, her commander received sailing orders from the Secretary of the Navy to proceed to Hampton Roads, Va., and there report to the Naval Department. On the afternoon of the 6th of March, 1862, the *Monitor*, with a picked crew from the war-ships *North Carolina* and *Sabine*—fifty-eight officers and men all told—left the lower bay of New York, with a moderate wind and smooth sea, in tow of a small tug, the *Seth Low*, and accompanied by the United States steamers *Currituck* and *Sachem*. Those who volunteered for the crew of the *Monitor* were brave men. Here was a hitherto unknown and untried vessel, not floating upon the water as other vessels but nearly submerged; her deck being only eighteen inches above the water; her crew to live, if they could, below the surface; the ocean beating with its wild and restless waves right over their heads. The manning of such a coffin-like ship, face to face with such uncertainties, was an example of sublime heroism. On the 7th the wind had freshened to a strong breeze, causing a rough sea, which broke constantly and violently over her decks, forcing the water in considerable quantities through the hawser-pipes, under the turret and in various other places. At last the blowers were stopped by the violent action of wind and wave, and, there being no draught for the furnaces, the engine and fire rooms were filled with gas, by which the engineers were prostrated, and only rescued by being carried to the top of the turret, with the water rapidly increasing, and the motive power useless for propulsion or pumping. The tug-boat was commanded to head directly in shore, but being light and of moderate power, she could move the *Monitor* but slowly against wind and sea. It seemed that the ship which had cost so much, and in which so many hopes had centered, would indeed prove an utter failure.

The question arose, whether it were not best to seek a harbor along the coast. One young officer, however, Lieutenant Stimers, who had great faith in the capabilities of the ship, urged that they go on; his counsels prevailed. Herein was a manifest providence.

Had the *Monitor* stayed in her course, the glory of her work would never have been achieved. Here is another bit of history worthy of special mention, viz.: Two hours after the *Monitor* had sailed from New York,

orders came to her commander from Washington, directing him to proceed to the Potomac, where it was thought she was more needed; leaving the large fleet of war vessels at Hampton Roads to protect that place, the authorities little suspecting the aggressive powers of the *Merrimac*, and how poorly the whole fleet was prepared to cope with that formidable antagonist. Providentially, Lieut. Worden and his ship were beyond the reach of these commands.

The storm, to which reference has been made, did not materially injure the *Monitor*, so that she proceeded safely toward her destination.

As she passed Cape Henry Light, at four o'clock, on March 8, the heavy firing in the direction of Fortress Monroe indicated an engagement, and very soon, from a pilot, Lieut. Worden learned of the advent of the *Merrimac*, and the disaster to the ships *Cumberland* and *Congress*. The *Cumberland*, having lost 117 men out of 300, sank with her colors flying. The *Congress*, set on fire, blew up, the fire having reached her magazines, Lieut. Joseph Smith, temporarily captain, having been previously killed.

This lieutenant was the son of Commodore Smith, the President of the Naval Board at Washington, before which Mr. Winslow and Mr. Griswold had so steadily pressed the building of the *Monitor*. On the information of the pilot, Lieut. Worden ordered the *Monitor* to be prepared for action, and at nine o'clock P.M. anchored at Hampton Roads near the frigate *Roanoke*, Captain Marston, the officer in command, to whom he reported. The voyage was made,—now for battle.

The next morning, March 9, 1862, the *Merrimac* was observed under way, steaming slowly from Sewell's Point, where she had anchored during the night, to accomplish more perfectly her work of the day before.

The *Monitor* immediately stood for her, with crew at quarters; and the fierce and remarkable conflict began, continuing from eight o'clock A.M. to one and a-half o'clock P.M.; resulting in the discomfiture of the *Merrimac*, and the full proof of all that had been claimed for the *Monitor*. In the engagement the *Monitor* received no serious injury, but Lieut. Worden narrowly escaped with his life; a shell from the *Merrimac* exploding near the look-out hole of the pilot house, through which he was looking, filling his face and eyes with powder, and partially stunning him. His escape was marvelous, as he had withdrawn his face from the opening only an instant before the explosion. The presence of the *Monitor* at Hampton Roads on the morning of March 9, 1862, was providentially opportune.

Had she remained in New York two hours longer, or been disabled on her voyage, or returned to New York, or harbored on the coast, as was

agitated on the night of the 7th, what awful havoc the *Merrimac* would have made along the coast! There were at Hampton Roads on that memorable Sabbath morning of March 9th, 1862, seventeen government vessels, mounting in all 222 guns, beside a number of transports, chartered vessels and private property, swelling to a large amount the values of life and property exposed to the *Merrimac*. All this captured or destroyed, the Atlantic cities would have been at the mercy of the Rebel ram, and the Civil war would have been largely prolonged. The *Monitor* was built at the right time, and the men who built her and manned her seemed to have been inspired to their work. The hand of God was upon them for the salvation of the country.

Some who read this article will remember the patriotic joy that rose like waves of light through all the Northern States at the triumph of the *Monitor*—the ovations of praise awarded to her gallant crew and commander. At Washington the demonstrations of joy were enthusiastic and intense. Commodore Smith, whose son was killed on the *Congress*, meeting Mr. Winslow in one of the Navy offices, seized his hands convulsively, saying, "Winslow, you have saved our Navy, but I have lost my Joe!" In Congress, a vote of thanks to its inventor was passed, and the President, with his Cabinet, personally awarded to Messrs. Griswold and Winslow the title of "Benefactors of their Country."

Orders for more Monitors were given, and the firm of Winslow & Griswold had the confidence and gratitude of the whole American Government. The great regret was that the *Monitor* was not at Hampton Roads one day sooner, to save the *Cumberland* and the *Congress*, with the brave men who fell and went down in the murderous fight. All honor to the heroes who manned the *Monitor* on the 9th of March, 1862. Honor, too, to him out of whose brain and thought the *Monitor* was born. Honor, also, to the men who took the thought and wrought it into substance and power for the country in its hour of direst need and peril; whose enterprise, courage and patriotism made the *Monitor* a fact and her encounter with the *Merrimac* a triumph. One of these men has passed beyond the reach of human praise—the Hon. John A. Griswold; the other, the Hon. John F. Winslow, whose pleading patriotism almost forced upon the Government the *Monitor*; by whose indomitable will and persistent energy the enterprise was carried through all storm of opposition to the full tide of success, still lives, at Woodcliff, on the banks of the Hudson, near Poughkeepsie—a beautiful home, well earned, and as well deserved, where, in ripening years, honored and beloved, the memory of the important part he had in the great Rebellion is one of the fondest recollections of a long

and useful life. To his and his associate Griswold's wise forecast, practical and scientific knowledge and good sense, unflagging zeal, untiring determination and intense loyalty—that burned all the brighter as the days darkened, we owe the *Monitor*; and without the *Monitor* just at the time when she entered Hampton Roads, what a set-back to national affairs there would have been!

The story, therefore, of this marvelous vessel is not well and properly told till the part these gentlemen had in her construction is made known and their names are enshrined in the affections of their countrymen as among the saviors of the Republic.

The life of the *Monitor* was short as it was eventful. From the 10th of March until the final destruction of the *Merrimac*, on the 11th of the following May, 1862, she lay at Hampton Roads, in guard and defense of manifold interests there. On the 12th of May she led the vessels that went to Norfolk, on the evacuation of that city by the Confederates, afterward proceeding up the James River as one of the flotilla under the command of Commodore Rodgers, of the iron-plated steamer *Galena*. On the 15th of May she was in the engagements at Fort Darling, seven miles below Richmond, Va.; from this time until the retreat of the army from the Peninsula, she was employed in patrolling the James River, arriving on the 21st of August at Newport News, being the last vessel that came down the James River. In September following she was at the Washington Navy Yard for repairs, sailing again for Hampton Roads in November.

On the 29th of December, 1862, she sailed for Beaufort, N. C., in company with the steamer *Rhode Island*, her convoy, and on the night of the 30th she foundered near Cape Hatteras. About half of her officers and crew were carried down with her; the others were saved by her convoy, the *Rhode Island*. The cause of her foundering is not known, though it is thought that, having lain all summer in the hot sun of James River, the oak timber which had been fitted to the top edge of the iron hull had shrunk so that in a heavy sea the water found its way through some open space, flowing in great volumes into the ship with fatal effect. Thus her career was a short one, but so marked that her name and exploits will ever have a brilliant place in the history of the great Rebellion. Marking this, in all great movements and emergencies, there is present an Almighty and a controlling hand, that men and means are raised up for special needs, and blessed are those who come into the kingdom at such times and fall into the line of their high calling.

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.

Francis B. Wheeler

FIRST AERIAL VOYAGE ACROSS THE ENGLISH CHANNEL

DIARY OF DR. JOHN JEFFRIES, THE AERONAUT

It has been very generally supposed that the aeronaut who first crossed the British Channel was an Englishman. He was of English ancestry, but an American by birth. His great-grandfather, David Jeffries, removed from England to Boston in 1677, and married the daughter of Governor Usher. David Jeffries the aeronaut's father was treasurer of the town of Boston for twenty-eight years prior to the Revolution. Dr. John Jeffries was born 1744, was graduated with first honors from Harvard University in 1763, and read medicine with the distinguished Dr. James Lloyd of Boston. He commenced practice in 1766, was successful, but desiring further opportunities, went to England in 1768 to study under the most celebrated physicians and surgeons of London. He received the medical degree from the University of Aberdeen in 1769, and returned to Boston, where he again met with great success in his practice. His English visit and intimacy with the British officers in Boston made him a loyalist by association, though his father was a staunch patriot, deacon of the old South Church. He viewed with the commanding officers from Copp's Hill the battle of Bunker Hill, and crossed over and identified to Genl. Howe the body of Dr. Warren. They had been Freemasons together in St. Andrew's Lodge. He naturally retired to Halifax with the troops when they evacuated Boston. Through his warm friend, Genl. Eyre Massey, commander-in-chief of the Province, he was employed as surgeon in the military hospitals, and went to England in 1779, and there passed the examination at Surgeons' Hall, and was commissioned Surgeon Major. He was with the troops before Savannah and Charleston. He had left his wife and two children under the care of his friend, Benj. Thompson, Count Rumford. News of her sudden death induced him to give up his commission and go back to England, when he declined Lord McCartney's offer of a position on the medical staff about to go to India. During the next ten years, till his return in 1789 to his native Boston, he was a very successful practitioner in London; and becoming scientifically interested in aerostation he made two aerial voyages, in which experiments he was aided by Sir Joseph Banks the President and Dr. Blagden the Secretary of the Royal Society. His accounts of these voyages read before the Society were highly commended as contributions to science. They were printed and published in

London in 1786. Dr. Jeffries said: "I wished to see the following points more clearly determined; first, the power of ascending or descending at pleasure while suspended and floating in the air; second, the effect which oars or wings might be made to produce towards the purpose, and in directing the course of the balloon; third, the state and temperature of the atmosphere at different heights from the earth; fourth, by observing the



JOHN JEFFRIES, M.D. 1768.

varying course of the currents of air or winds at certain elevations, to throw some new light on the theory of winds in general."

Nothing scientific had yet been done by any of the balloonists. Among them was the Frenchman, Blanchard, who had made three ascents in France and one partially successful in England with Dr. Sheldon, F.R.S. Dr. Jeffries paid Blanchard one hundred guineas for a seat in his fifth ascent, which was from the Rhedarium in London, November 30th,

1784, witnessed and patronized by the Prince of Wales and Duchess of Devonshire. They landed safely in the county of Kent. He next determined to carry out his scientific investigations by crossing the channel, the possibility, etc., of which was then doubted. Balloon ascents were very expensive when there were no railroads, telegraphs or gasometers. Dr. Jeffries, however, agreed to pay all expenses, etc., for a voyage across the channel, amounting to over £700. Even with his bills paid Blanchard endeavored by various means to avoid fulfilling his contract. A vest lined with lead the tailor unfortunately brought to Dr. Jeffries at the hotel at Dover. This ascent was finally arranged from the cliff near the castle. From Dr. Jeffries' personal diary, March 1777 to 1819, still extant, the following notes are extracted:

. Jan. 7, 1785. This morning, at six o'clock, my *little* hero Blanchard entered my bed chamber, and told me he believed the wind and weather were fair, and would do for our intended aerial voyage from the cliff below the royal castle of Dover, for the continent of France. Between eight and nine o'clock went with Mr. Hugget, the pilot, to the pier and pilots' lookout. The pilots were of opinion that the wind was not decided, and did not extend beyond mid channel, and that the wind was equally from the French land as from the English coast. This opinion embarrassed me much, although I did not think as they did. While I was at the lookout, the signal gun for our intended voyage was fired, and the flag hoisted, and soon after several other guns, to give notice to the adjacent towns, etc. The balloon and net, etc. were carried down to our apparatus, the balloon hung up, and we began the process for filling it. At nine o'clock went to the castle and breakfasted with the Deputy Governor Lane, after which retired to Capt. Arch. Campbell's apartments to dress for my voyage; after, called to pay my respects to Capt. James Campbell and his lady, and then went down to our apparatus, where I found my little heroick Captain, and the balloon half filled. At half after eleven o'clock let off a small Mongolfier, which went very well, and took a very good direction for us. At twelve o'clock filled and sent off from the hands of Governor Lane our little Devonshire balloon, (which had been the herald of our aerial voyage from London into Kent) and it took the same course as the Mongolfier had done. At half after twelve, we carried our aerial car and placed it under the balloon, and began attaching the cords of the net to it. At one o'clock had completed it, fastened and adjusted in its place the barometer. We then took in our bladders, other things, and eighty pounds of ballast, in bags of ten pounds each, compass, chart, loosened the ropes

which had guarded our apparatus, and let the balloon rise a little, and carry us free of the apparatus, &c. ; then fixed our wings, etc., and balancing the balloon, found our weight too great, on which we cast out one sack of ballast ; still too heavy, and on the very brink of the cliff cast out a second, then a third and fourth, and arose so as to clear the cliff, but being rather inclined to descend, we gradually emptied the fifth sack, and then arose gradually and most majestically. Exactly at quarter past one



JOHN JEFFRIES, M.D., IN THE BALLOON. 1785.

o'clock, we quitted the cliff, and had with us as follows,—three sacks of ballast of ten pounds each, balloon 148 pounds, net 57 pounds, aerial car and apparatus 72 pounds, Blanchard's books 34 pounds, Blanchard and his clothes 146 pounds, myself 128 pounds, sundries 19 pounds. In a few minutes after our departure, we saluted with our hands and flags, which they returned with very loud and repeated shouts and acclamations. Just before entering our car Monsieur B had most politely presented me with my colour, a British flag, in presence of the company and spectators,

on which I requested of Gov. Lane and Capt. Campbell, the commanding officer, leave for Mr. B. to display his French flag on our departure, which they very politely granted. At half past one, we had risen considerably, but appeared to have made very little progress, and that little rather to the eastward, the wind at our departure being less than at any part of the morning, and more westerly; the weather very fine indeed, very clear sun, temperate and warm; the barometer at starting, 29.7, has now fallen to 27.3.

We had a most enchanting view of the country back of Dover, &c. for an extent of an hundred miles around, counting 37 towns and villages, and a formidable view of the breakers on Goodwin sands, to which we seemed to approach. The coast of France likewise became very distinct. We passed over many vessels of various kinds, which we saluted as we passed, and they returned with shouts and cheers. The balloon extremely distended, and both tubes extended through their whole length and diameter. There seemed to be scarce a breath of air on the water under us. Three quarters past one, cast both tubes over the sides of the car, and began to attach the bladders to the hoops of the car. In doing this, I unfortunately, in reaching behind me, pushed off my colour, which Mr. Blanchard had placed there for security. 50 minutes after one, found we were descending fast; emptied one bag of ballast; not rising, emptied half another, and began to rise again. Appeared to be about one third of the way from Dover, losing distinct sight of the castle. At two o'clock, attached the slings to the circle, one at each end, and the third in the middle for our feet, to retreat to, like beavers, in case we were forced down into the water. Found that we were descending again fast. Cast out all the remaining ballast and bags and all; did not rise. Cast out a parcel of Mr. B.'s books, and in a minute or two found ourselves rising again, and that we were full midway between the English and French coasts. 30 minutes after two, found we were descending again; obliged to cast out by parcels all our remaining books, and scarcely found ourselves to arise after it. We had now nothing left but our wings and apparatus, &c. 40 minutes after two, (having passed over a number of vessels, and being about three quarters of the way over from Dover to the French coast, having a most alluring and enchanting view of it from Blackness, Cape Blanc Nez, quite to Calais and on to Gravelines) found ourselves descending, and very rapidly,—the part of the balloon next to us having collapsed very much, apparently for many feet from the lower pole. We cast out all the little things we could find,—apples, biscuits, &c., then one wing; still descending, we cast away the other wing; but not rising, cut away the damask curtains around the car,

with the gold cord tassels, &c., then stripped off all the silk lining, threw out our bottle of *l'eau de vie*. In its descent it cast out a stream like smoke, with a rushing noise, and when it struck the water, we heard and felt the shock very perceptibly in our car and balloon. I then attempted and succeeded in unscrewing and getting out the moulinet and handle, and cast all over. Found ourselves still descending, and now approaching the sea, within 120 yards, we proposed and began to strip, Mr. B. first casting away his surtout and coat. I then cast away my coat; then Mr. B. his new coat and long trousers; and we got on and adjusted our cork jackets, and were preparing to get into our slings, when I found the mercury in the barometer falling, and looking around found that we arose, and that the pleasant view of France was opening to us every moment, as we arose to overlook the high grounds. We were now about four miles from the shore, and approaching it fast. 50 minutes after two o'clock, had a fine view of Calais and between twenty and thirty little towns and villages. We now rose very fast, and to a much greater height than at any time since our first ascent. Exactly at three o'clock, thanks to a kind Providence, we passed over the high grounds from the shore, about midway from Cape Blanc Nez and Calais. At our entrée we were very high, and passed over in a magnificent arch. Barometer had fallen to 23 and three-tenths. Nothing can equal the beautiful appearance of the villages, fields, roads, &c. under us, after having been so long over the water. Mr. Blanchard threw out several packets, each of which was exactly five minutes in reaching the surface of the earth. The weather continued very fine; sun very bright all our voyage; the wind a little increased, and being more westerly than when we first passed from the sea, we were approaching fast the grounds covered with water, on our left, and above and a little to the right of Calais. In a few minutes we changed our course again to the southwest; and found ourselves gradually descending. Having before cast away both our anchors, cords, &c., Mr. B. took the cords of our slings, and the wood of them, to serve as an anchor in our descent. We took off our cork jackets to favour our descent, and I proposed to Mr. Blanchard that we should each of us take a bladder and pass as much as we could, and reserve the throwing it away at the very instant of descent, to break the force of the shock. We now approached a forest, and continuing our course directly over its length, and descending more rapidly, we cast away the substitute anchor and cord we had prepared. We were going much faster than any preceding part of our voyage, sailing along obliquely downwards, directly into the forest. We cast out our newly invented ballast, one bladder after the other, then my cork jacket, after it Mr. Blanchard's, and descended (after having passed

four-fifths of the forest) so that I caught hold of the top of a tree, exactly at quarter past three o'clock, and stopped our progress. The weight being relieved by pressing on the tree, the balloon floated and played very beautifully over us, at times pulling me very strongly, as though determined not to submit; but in 28 minutes, having opened the valve, the inflammable air escaped, with a very loud rushing noise. We found the balloon disposed to let us down, and pushing our car off from the branches, we descended most tranquilly between some trees, which were just open enough to admit the car and balloon. We immediately set ourselves about emptying the balloon and detaching it from the car, at which we worked hard, quite by our selves for about half an hour, before any person got up to us; after which a number of peasants came up, and some horsemen, and assisted us in emptying the balloon, and after it, in folding it up; and placing it in the car, took it up, and proceeded in triumph with it on their shoulders.

Dr. Jeffries's regular daily diary says, in continuation, as follows:

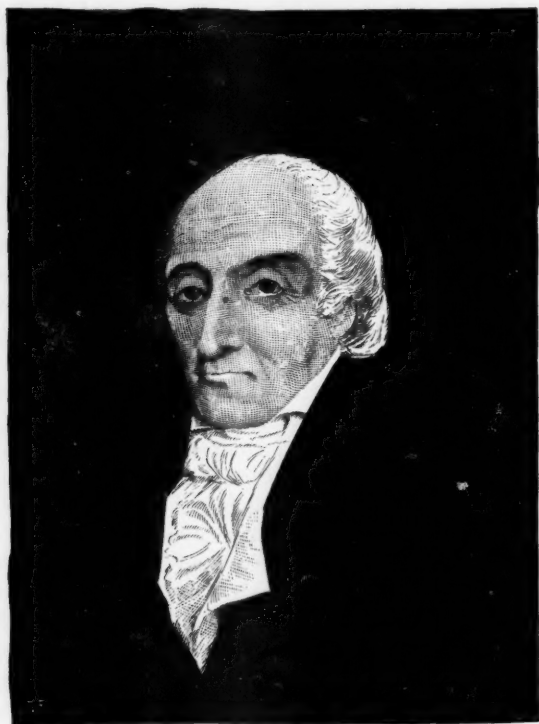
1785. Jan. 7th. At three quarters past three o'clock, landed in France (about 12 miles from the sea) in the wood of Guines, from the aerial car of our balloon, with my little Blanchard. At 7 o'clock arrived on horseback at the chateau of Le Vicomte Desandrouin. We were most politely welcomed and entertained. At nine set off from thence in post chaise and six horses, and by pressing invitation stopped at the chateau of Le Vicomte Desandrouin, à Hardinghard, and were saluted at our entrance into the hall by a young lady singing some stanzas in honor of our enterprise. At eleven o'clock set out from thence, and at one o'clock arrived at the gates of Calais, at which we were admitted by the Commandant's order, he having sat up for us. After passing four strong gates, with drawbridges, &c., at half past one o'clock we alighted at Mr. Mouron's in Calais, and immediately went to pay our respects to the General Commandant, whom we found sitting up for us. His lady, in bed in a pavilion tent in his room, received us most courteously. Returned to Mr. Mouron's, got some tea from his lovely family, and retired to rest. May I never be unmindful of the mercies of this day, but thank God all my life.

Jan. 8th. This morning, the Governor, Commandant, Mayor of the City, Chief Justice, Chief Engineer, and all the different corps of officers, came to welcome us, &c., prepared a most elegant dinner for us, at the City of London Hotel, where we dined with all the officers, magistrates, Mayor and Aldermen of the city, King's Procureur General, and all titled and principal people of the place and neighborhood. They presented Mr. Blanchard with the freedom of the city in a gold box, and made repeated apologies,

expressing their wish to do the same for me, but could not without leave from the Court.

Jan. 11th. At two o'clock arrived at Paris. After setting down M. Pilatre de Rosier, we passed on to M. L' Abbe de Viernay, Grande Rue Turrane, Fauxbourg St. Germain, where Mr. B. was received by his foster father, the Abbe, in the most affectionate and polite manner, with repeated embraces, &c. Dined with a number of gentlemen and ladies, and were greatly complimented. While at dinner a number of French dames entered our apartment, bringing with them a laurel crown, ornamented with ribbons, and embraced us again and again, and chanted some verses honorary to our aerial voyage. Mr. B. insisted on my taking an apartment with him at the Abbe's, which for the present I have consented to do. At Paris *incontestibly*.

Jan. 12th. At ten o'clock we set out for Versailles, to pay our respects to the King, &c. On our way called on Mons. Gireredot de Marigny, banker. Very politely received and complimented by him, and engaged to dine with him and share some of his best claret, as he says, the best in the world. At Versailles, paid our respects first to Monseigneur Le Comte de Vergennes; politely received and complimented by him, but like a minister, a courtier. From thence waited on Madame La Duchesse de Polignac; most kindly and politely received by her, though she was dressing at her toilet, like a Venus in white muslin, and surrounded by five ladies, all in white, who were attiring her, a most engaging lovely, affable woman. From her apartments we went to visit his Grace the Duc de Polignac and were by him received most kindly indeed. He was pleased to take great, very great notice of me, and spoke again and again of what I had attempted and done. Thence visited the royal palace and gardens at Versailles, the first palace I have ever yet seen, magnificent beyond my expectations, the statues in the gardens and the spouting deities and sea gods and in the basins most magnificent. I had not conceived anything like what I find it. Thence went to visit Mr. B's uncle, Charge en Chef de Menagerie du Roi; most affectionately received by him and family. Too late to-day to see the King; and met in the gardens Monsieur the King's eldest brother; had been walking in the gardens, eight or ten guards and a gent with him. This evening went to the *Comédie Française* at Versailles; saw *La Rencontre Imprévue*, followed by *La Triple Mariage*; both very well played, and exceeding ours by having *all the parts well played*. After the comedy, went to the Hotel de Comedie, and soon after received a polite invitation to sup with Madame Montensier, *Directrice et Propriétaire de l'opéra de Versailles*, with three lovely girls, and one most lovely in person and easy



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manners, and a number of gents, several of those I had seen perform in the comedy.

Jan. 13th. At noon attended the Royal Chapel, saw the lady of the Comte D'Artois and Monsieur at mass, and many of the nobility, great number of the Royal Guards attended; very great civility from the royal attendants in the palace, and particularly from the officers of the guards and officers of state. Had the honor to be conducted through the apartments, and to see the King as he was going to walk. Mons. B. mentioned me to him, as I stood by him, and he condescended to look at me, soon after which Monsieur came near and most condescendingly came towards me, and with a most kind and affable manner, after inquiring of his attendants if I spoke French, he made his compliments and said, "I am very glad to see you, Sir." He was dressed in black velvet and the Cordon Bleu,

Star, &c. The King was dressed very plain, with brown leather spatter-dashes. After this I received the compliments of all the nobility; officers of the guards, officers of the apartments conducted me from the gardens to their apartments, which were most grand, and paid me repeated compliments and civilities, and particularly the Chevalier de Bagneux, Captain in service de Gardes du Roy. Dined with Mr. Blanchard's uncle, cousins, &c., near the Cathedral Versailles; most hospitably and politely received and sumptuously entertained. Returned to Paris at 12.

Jan. 14th. This morning introduced by M. Hirschberg to the gents, wits, and men of learning at the Café Careau au Palais Royal. Most kindly and honorably received by them, and our pictures to be placed among the busts of the greatest men of wit and enterprise which already ornament that place. Thence went to the museum, visited M. Pilatre de Rosier. This morning received very polite letter from Mr. Franklin, Mr. Williams, and at our entrance into the lecture room of the museum we were received by repeated shouts of applause and clapping of hands, *encore et encore*; after which was placed at the side of the President, and heard the lecture, then congratulated by a great number of the first characters, ladies and gents, —La Duchesse, Le Duc, Le Vicompte, &c.; then introduced to Monseigneur Le Duc de Chatres, who received me most graciously indeed. Had long conversation with him, in which he complimented me greatly, and at the end of our talk he did me the honor to say he approved highly of my conduct, that he was very glad to see me here, and that he should be very glad to be acquainted with me. As soon as the claps of applause were ended, I received from the hands of the President of the Museum, accompanied with a very polite letter, a *billet d'entré* as a Member and *Fondateur* of the French Museum. After dining with a large company of ladies, noblemen, Abbés, physicians, &c., went to pay my respects to his Grace the Duke of Dorset, English Ambassador; thence to Dr. Franklin at Passy; very hospitably and kindly received.

Jan. 15. Dinner with Dr. Franklin at Passy and number of ladies and gents. Supper with Madame Hirschberg, L'Hotel de Calais. Evening at *Opéra*, *Comédie Française*, &c.; elegant and brilliant company, and very elegant house.

Jan. 16. This morning introduced by M. De Hirschberg to M. Le Comte d'Ossun, at his hotel; very politely received and complimented by him; expressed his wish to accompany me to England. Went with Mr. Blanchard to Versailles at Court; presented to the Queen; heard the Duke de Polignac repeatedly speaking to the queen of me, and as often caught

her lovely eyes on me, and the King's while at dinner. Received the compliments of the Duchess and Duke of Polignac. Introduced to the Comte d'Artois at his apartments; very politely received and complimented, with his approbation; received the compliments of Madame and the ladies of the Court. Introduced to M. Le Baron de Breteuil, le Ministre de France; very politely received by him indeed; complimented me again and again, said he was charmed with me, very glad to see me. Dined with him most magnificently. Introduced to and complimented by fifty Lords and officers of the Court, and ladies, the Bishop, Abbé, and the Cardinal Rohan. Received very particular compliments and marks of approbation from Le Comte Suffrien, the gallant French Admiral, who said he envied my courage, and wished he had half as much. Introduced to Madame Breteuil, daughter of the Minister; very graciously received by her, and continually complimented by her for my courage, goodness and politeness. Introduced by her, particularly, to every lady at her levee at the Minister's. Evening, returned to the drawing room; saw two ladies presented; one the Princess Lamballe, most lovely, and the most brilliant and rich dress I had ever seen. Introduced to the grand Écurier, and very graciously received and complimented by Count Dillon. Then very particularly complimented by the Marquis de Laroche du Maine, who brought me from Versailles to Paris with him in his chariot, and introduced me to his family at his hotel, and loaded me with compliments and words of approbation. Paid my respects to M. L'Abbé de Viernay, and found there a card from his Grace, the Duke of Dorset, to dine on Tuesday next. Evening at the grand ball, the *Société, rue Coqueron, Hotel D'Orléans*, where I was received by universal and continuous shouts and claps of applause, embraced and complimented by hundreds of the first ladies and gents in Paris. Presented with a garland crown by the prettiest mademoiselle of Paris, placed on my temples by the hands of a lovely fair one, Madame Baunoir; very kind attention from Capt. Crofton, of the 69th, who introduced me to his brother, the Count, and his lady, and a most elegant group. The most particular favours and marks of attention through the whole evening from the lovely little vivacious Madame de Talairac, *rue de Maile*, who with lovely freedom and *simplicité de cœur* told me she was eighteen, had married at fifteen, had an infant, &c., &c.; took affectionate leave of me and engaged me to come and see her. I cannot describe the attentions shown me, marks of approbation and compliments paid me.

Jan. 17. Dined at M. Le Comte de Carrau, *rue de l'Université*, elegant house, apartments, &c.; very politely received and entertained by him, many compliments from him and company, Barons, Noblemen, &c. Thence

accompanied Mr. B. to Monseigneur Le Duc de Charast, Governor de Calais; very politely received by him and daughter.

Jan. 16. This morning sat for my portrait to Mr. Pujos, *peintre, rue Peltier*. Dined with the Ambassador, his Grace the Duke of Dorset; met there Lord Trentham, who was at Dover when we ascended in the balloon, Col. Tarleton, and a great number of English noblemen; received many compliments from them. Evening, went to the opera, where we were honoured with loud claps and shouts of applause, *three* times repeated, before the curtain drew up, and repeated again when the opera was over. The house and scenery very elegant, with exquisite dancing by Madame Deimar and Mons'r Vestris; the dresses of the dancers, &c., uncommonly neat and elegant; performers very numerous. Band of musick very large and good, great number and elegant company. This day dined at the Duke of Dorset's elegant chateau; a number of most elegant ladies, in person, dress, and manners.

Jan. 19. Dined at Madame Limon and Madame St. Germain, rue St. Honoré. Most politely and affectionately received and hospitably entertained by them and the company. Received an order of admittance for the *Comédie Française* this evening. Received there by universal and repeated claps of applause and approbation. Saw the comedy of *Figaro* (by Mr. Beaumarchais); most witty, poignant composition, and supported to the life. Mr. Molé a capital performer; the house, scenery, girandolles and dresses superior to either of ours in London; plays in all their parts *far* better filled up than with us. The women charming; they act with so much ease and grace, and never beyond nature. Met at the *comédie* Mr. Franklin, and received his compliments.

Jan. 20. Visited, with Mr. B., Madame Baunoir, rue du Faubourg St. Martin, No. 23. Most kindly received; a lovely woman. Dined with Madame la Comtesse de Coualir, à l'Hotel à Place de Louis Quinze, a princely hotel, &c.; most elegantly and affectionately received; a truly elegant woman, and Countess indeed. I am charmed with such company, and well I may be. This day took lodgings at the Hotel de Vauban, rue Richelieu, at four Louis d'or a month. This evening at the Paris Assembly ball, Musée, rue Dauphin. Received again with claps of applause, &c.; particularly attended to by Capt. Crofton and number of English gents. Met there the charming Madame Baunoir and Madame de Talairac, most engaging and lovely; prayed me again and again to visit them. Met again there Le Comte de Crofton and the comtesse, with whose party I supped; paid very great attention to me, brought me home (I having lent my carriage to the charming Madame Baunoir), and urged me to accept of

apartments with them, &c. At the ball Mademoiselle Prieur and her father introduced themselves, and were particularly attentive to me.

Jan. 21. Dined at the Marquis de Brancas; very graciously received by him and the Marchioness. Introduced to M. Le Comte de Sceaux, who told me he supped with the Queen a few nights since at Versailles, and sitting near the Queen heard her tell the Duke of Dorset that she had seen and noticed me at Versailles, and wished to have understood English to have talked with me. Several other noblemen at the Marquis de Brancas; a sumptuous hotel, &c.; all repeatedly polite and complimentary to me. Visited and drank tea with Mademoiselle and M. Prieur, rue Colom-bier. Supped at M. Le Comte de Crofton, rue Traversière; large party of ladies of fashion, foreign noblemen, &c. Madame la Comtesse very attentive to me, as she always is.

Jan. 22. Went out to Passy, a most delightful situation. Walked in Palais Royal, and round the Tuileries; delightful places. Dined with Le Docteur and Mons'r Franklin at Passy. Met there Mr. Jona. Williams, Dr. Bancroft, and the celebrated and brave Commodore Paul Jones, from whom I received many compliments on my enterprise, and returned them, he deserving them much more than me. Evening, returned to Hotel Vauban. Received a card from Monseigneur Le Duc de Charost, to dine on Thursday next. This evening supped, &c., at the Comtesse de Belinworth, the Comte de Crofton, Lady, and with lovely, lovely women.

Jan. 23. Waited on his Grace the Duke of Dorset. Called on Madame Talairac, rue de Maille. Thence visited Madame Beaunoir, rue Faubourg St. Martin; kindly received; and took them in my carriage, and carried them to dine with me at Madame Talairac's; charming domestic circle. Thence we went to the Italian Comedy, where I was unfortunately ill, fainted, &c., taken out in the arms of a gent., the lovely fair ones attending. After the comedy, Madame Beaunoir led me again to my box, where I was highly entertained by seeing the comedy of Fanfan and Colas, *Ou les frères de lait* (written by Madame Beaunoir) very well played. After the play I took the two ladies to the ball, rue Coqueron, where after attending them half an hour, I left them and returned to my hotel, finding myself indisposed.

Jan. 24. Dined at M. Le Comte de Crofton. Evening at the *Comédie de Variétés au Palais Royal*. Supped at Madame Comtesse de Crofton. Met there Madame le Comtesse de Belvedere and Madame la Vicomtesse de Liniere; very polite to me; invited by the latter to supper to-morrow evening.

Jan. 25. Dined with M. Gireredot de Marigny, l'Hotel Colbert, rue

Vivienne. Large company of barons, noblesse and gentry ; most sumptuous entertainment ; house like a palace in furniture, sculpture, paintings, &c. In evening M. Gireredot carried me to the opera, and honored me with a front seat in his box. A new opera of Pannege ; most crowded house, and the most numerous, brilliant company I ever saw. The scenes, dresses, and decorations superb ; dancing not to be exceeded, I think.

Jan. 26. Dined at M. Le Marquis de Laroche du Maine ; most elegantly entertained. Monseigneur Le Duc de Montmorenci dined there ; complimented by him and several other nobles, barons, &c. Mademoiselle Laroche du Maine a sweet, elegant little girl ; band of musick and singing during dinner. Many compliments from the Marquis. Evening at the Italian comedy ; went very late. Between the first and second comedy, it became known that we were there ; our names were echoed from the pit, and universal and repeated claps of applause succeeded, to which we endeavored to return our compliments.

Jan. 27. Took into my service Mons. Bruilli, procured for me and recommended by the Compte de Crofton ; to give him forty sous per day, he to dress my hair, &c. Dined with Monseigneur Le Duc de Charost, rue de Bourbon, Fauxbourg St. Germain ; an elegant chateau. Very politely received by M. and Madame. Met there at dinner a number of noblemen, abbés, &c. The Duc Charost carried me to a museum, where he introduced me to a large number of noblemen, ladies, abbés, &c.

Jan. 28. Accompanied Capt. Crofton to the Fauxbourg St. Germain, to the Convent de Parthemont, rue de Grenelle, to see his sister there, a fine, charming, blooming girl (lost to the world). Saw there a lovely girl from Virginia. Dined at Madame Beaunoir ; met there Madame Tailairac and number of ladies and gents. Evening, supped at Madame La Comtesse de Crofton ; as usual very kind to me. Met there La Comtesse de Liniere (who invited me again to sup on Sunday evening), and the Marchionesse de Fleury, who chatted and looked pleasant things.

Jan. 29. Supped tête-à-tête M. Le Comte de Crofton. Madame la Comtesse, *au lit la même appartement, bien plaisant.*

Jan. 30. Went to *petit souper* at Madame La Vicomtesse de Liniere, rue Notre Dame des Victoires ; a most lovely creature, and very affable, with looks that may be felt. Met an elegant company there.

Jan. 31. Sat for my profile to M. Chaportay. Walked out to Passy, and dined very pleasantly with Messrs. Franklin and Williams. Very kindly received.

Feb. 1. Dined with Dr. Duploreil, rue de Bourbon. Very kindly and honourably received by him, ladies and guests. Met there a Mr. Roberts,

Regius Professor à l'École Royale Militaire, who was very particularly civil and attentive to me.

Feb. 2. Dined tête-à-tête Mad. and M. Le Compte de Crofton; *très très agréable*. Evening at M. l'Abbé de Viernay; the private comedy at his hotel, very well played; a tragedy and comedy after it. After which an elegant supper and entertainment in his salon. Honoured with the heroine of the play at my side; much good humor, and sung most charmingly, as did the others.

Feb. 3. Dined with Mad. and Compte de Crofton. Evening, at nine, Mr. Franklin called on me, and carried me and introduced me to Madame Morrell, where I was most kindly received indeed, and met there the charming Mad. de Villars, friend to Mad. B., both of them being from Lyons. Several other ladies, marquises, barons, &c. Met here the celebrated and extraordinary genius M. Garat, a very fine handsome young gent, who sings delicately and with perfect exactness (so as to correct instruments which accompany him) any tune which he hears; can imitate exactly each and every one of the opera singers, etc. His voice exquisitely melodious, and though powerful, delicately soft and engaging, and his manner most gentleman-like. Many compliments passed between us, on his talents and my late enterprise. I cannot describe the lovely ease and elegance, yet delicate decency, with which Mad. Morrell and Mad. de Villars undressed themselves in my presence, and dressed again in lovely dishabille, previous to our going to the masqued ball at the opera, where I had the honor to attend them, and found them there as elsewhere most lovely and engaging. Met at the ball many ladies who knew me, but I could not know them all, so covered with dominos and masques. Two English ladies (Mrs. Lawrence and her little ward), one of whom I walked with again and again, but she would not let me know who. Afterwards met them both with his Grace the Duke of Chartres, with whom they appeared to be engaged. The Vicomtesse Liniere found me out, and we had many pleasant repartees before I knew her, promised to meet me at supper to-morrow, and wished much to be informed how I liked the lady I supped with last Sunday (which was herself). I tore off a piece of her fan as a token, which she consented to. Madame Talairac likewise found me out. After long time I found out my lovely Mad. Morrell and Mad. Villars, with whom and Mr. Franklin I left the ball at four o'clock. What would I not give to be able to transport such easy, engaging manners, joined with such wit and delicacy, to England. Mr. Franklin told me he had again met the Duke of Dorset at Versailles on Tuesday, and had again talked with him about me, and that his Grace had said that he would most

willingly do anything for me I would point out. Mr. F. mentioned to him that it would, he thought, be useful to me for his Grace to write to the minister, and recommend some pension or such like for me from government. Mr. Franklin said he had wrote to his father the Governor, desiring him to hint to Dr. Blagden, the Secretary of the Royal Society, that he should make me a member, free of all expense. Met Com. Paul Jones at the opera masque ball; apropos repartees.

Feb. 4. This evening the lovely Mad. Morrell called on me and carried me to supper with her lovely friend, Mad. du Villars—both of them so lovely, engaging and agreeable that I wish my charming countrywomen would catch and imitate their elegant ease of carriage and manners.

Feb. 6. Waited on his Grace, the Ambassador, the Duke de Dorset. Very kindly received by him and Mr. Stone, his private secretary; Mr. Hales, Secretary of the Embassy; Rev. Mr. Labord, his chaplain. Met there the Count d'Ossier, who was attentive to me; Lady Hervey and her little daughter; Lady Eliz. Forster, Lady H.'s sister; a fine little boy, son of the Duke by Madame Baccelli, a number of noblemen and gents. The Duke told me that he was well pleased that I did not suffer the Frenchman to pass over alone.

Feb. 8. Dined with M. Sellorf. Met there and was introduced by him to M. Le Prince de Hesse, Monseigneur le Prince de Deux Ponts, the Swedish Secretary, M. le Comte de Sickengen, Minister de le Duc de Barriere; Le Prince de Deux Ponts very particularly attentive and civil to me. Was acquainted with Sir Benj. Thompson, and told me he was aid de camp to his uncle the Prince (I think he said of Bavaria.) The streets of the city and fauxbourg full of masques of all ranks and sorts. Am glad this is the last day of the carnival; on the morrow they must to their several vocations again.

Feb. 10. Dined with Mr. Roberts, Regius Professor at l'École Royale Militaire. Met there Dr. Sutton, the celebrated inoculator. Visited the apartments and the elegant grand building of the Hotel des Invalides, Champ Mars, &c.

Feb. 11. Walked out to Passy, and dined with Dr. Franklin. Very kindly received and entertained by him, and very pleasant conversation. Evening, Mr. Franklin brought me to town in his chariot, and said he would again speak to the Duke of Dorset and his Secretary, respecting their writing in my favor to England. Engaged me to dine there on Monday next, to meet the Marchioness and Marquis de Fayet, Mr. Adams, Lord Mountmorris, &c., &c.

Feb. 11. Supped with La Comtesse and Le Compte de Crofton, and met there the Comtesse de Belvidere, &c.

Feb. 12. Breakfasted with Dr. Du Plaril; afterwards visited with him l'Hotel de Charité; found all the apartments, wards, &c., very clean and airy; patients clean, beds made, &c.; only men there. A pretty botanical garden, with labels affixed to and standards to each plant. Thence visited l'Hotel de Dieu, an exceeding large hospital, part on one side of the river, and part on the other, connected by a bridge belonging to the hospital. Between five and six thousand patients; four rows of beds in many of the wards. Patients of all descriptions, ages, sexes, and nations are admitted. Wards for all sick children, from two or three months to two or three years, struck me as novel. Warm and cold baths frequent and conveniently placed. Saw in the box for that purpose several human calculi very large. Conducted through all the female wards; some very low and dark; three, four, and five sick adults in the same bed, lying heads and points. Visited, just by the Hotel Dieu, l'Hotel des Enfants trouvés; very neat, roomy, and in good order.

Feb. 13. Attended the Duke of Dorset's concert. His Grace condescendingly attentive to me, and Mr. Stone, his private secretary, and many other English noblemen and gents. Met there Lady Eliz. Forster, who was civil to me, Lady Betty Lindsay and her sister Lady Mary Fordyce. Asked and received of Mr. Stone a request from the Duke to the Supt. of Police to give me a passport for myself and servant.

Feb. 14. Dined at Passy with the American Ambassador, Dr. Franklin; met there his Excellency, John Adams, Esq., his lady and daughter, all of whom were very civil to me; Lord Mountmorris, who was very uncommonly attentive and civil to me all the time; the Marquis and Marchioness of Fayette, a fine affable lady; Mrs. Bingham, a very genteel American from Philadelphia, and Mr. Bingham; Col. Humphreys, late aid-de-camp to Gen'l Washington, now a Commissioner from America; Mr. Jon. Williams; a Mrs. Boadley, &c., and several other gents of rank and note; Commodore Paul Jones, who was very attentive, candid, and complimentary to me, and who brought me to Paris with him in his chariot. Talked with Mr. Franklin about the Duke of Dorset, and he advised me to call on the Duke tomorrow, make use of his name, and ask of his Grace a letter from him to the Minister in England, Mr. Pitt. Took leave of the venerable old Dr., and received many compliments, with his best wishes, &c. Supped with Comtesse and Compte de Crofton, and by him introduced to his brother, a very agreeable gent.

Feb. 16. Waited on his Grace, the Duke of Dorset, the Ambassador.

Very kindly received by him ; talked freely, and most friendly to me ; said he would write or do anything for me that I thought would be most useful to me ; and proposed to me to make application to the King ; said he thought he might, and that he would give me a letter to Mr. Pitt, the Minister, to inform him what the King had done here for Blanchard. Thence I set out with Chevalier Crofton for Luciennes and St. Germain. Passed over the bridge, which is the largest and best I have seen in France ; although so long, quite plane, and has stones of 32 feet length, for the ballustrade barrier. On the left of it, in the Bois du Boulogne, saw the Royal Chateau de Madrid, which was built by the French for a pretended residence of Francis the First, to enable him, under pretext of the name, ignominiously to break his parole and engagement to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, who had taken him prisoner, and let him on his parole return to France, under engagement that he would soon return and surrender himself again a prisoner at Madrid, the Emperor being at that time (also) King of Spain. We stopped at Machine de Marli, to visit M. Le Chevalier Brouard, Maître de Machine, &c. Very kindly, hospitably, and affectionately received by him and his niece Mademoiselle ; gave us a card to Madame à le Pavillon du Madam la Comtesse du Barry à Luciennes. Visited the Pavillon ; most elegant and luxuriantly rich, clean and beautiful ; very fine busts and statues of the King Louis XV., pictures, &c. Then went through the lovely gardens from the Pavillon to the hotel de la Comtesse. Found her at her toilet, having a select company party to dine to-day (dinner serving up) and designing a ball privé this evening. However, ordered that I should be shown the apartments, &c. Found them, like the Pavillon, rich, elegant and beautiful, with most lovely and enchanting conveniences and designs, &c. The very fine portrait of the King given by him to Mad. La Comtesse du Barry, and her own elegant picture, a fine and beautiful likeness, with many others of the King and Comtesse, busts and statuary of them with various designs. The villa of Lady Craven, pretty and charming, situated near Madame du Barry, and the elegant Chateau de Monseigneur le Duc de Aiguillon, who was Secretary of State and War at the time of Madame du Barry's connection with the King. At St. Germain, which is a lovely town in a fine high situation, and extensive forest, with beautiful terrace above half a mile in extent, with the forest on the left and the river and extensive beautiful country on the right, the situation being so high as to command the river a great many miles. Dined at the Castle with Mad. and Dr. O'Flynn, very kindly and hospitably received by them ; called on Mr. Williams at the Castle, met there four of the Misses Alexanders, Mrs. Williams's sisters. Intro-

duced by the Chevalier Crofton to Maj. Kelly of the Irish Brigade, kindly received by him with many compliments. At six o'clock returned to M. Brouard à la Machine de Marli and then we went to the ball at Madame du Barry's à Luciennes. Found a number of young women and men dressed very prettily to dance, with good musick, &c. Met there M. le Marquis de Chabrilian whom I had visited at Versailles. He was very civil and attentive to me, mentioned me and introduced me to Mad. le Comtesse du Barry and her sister, and to Monseigneur Le Duc de Brissac, Governor of Paris, to M. Le Comte D'Orsay and M. le Marquis de Fondrille, all of whom were very polite and attentive, particularly the Duc de Brissac and Le Comte d'Orsay, who paid me many and great compliments. La Comtesse du Barry was exceedingly pleasant and in good spirits, complimented me again and again, and declared herself greatly pleased and gratified in my company. After taking leave of me, she again sent the Comte de Chabrilian to request my company to her apartments, where I had a most agreeable chat and repartee with her for near an hour, and after it did me the honour to propose dancing with me, ordered refreshment, &c. When I finally took leave at midnight, she again expressed how happy she was to have had my company there, and paid me many more compliments. Her sister resembled her much in features, but not so elegant or handsome. Returned to La Machine de Marli, took leave, with grateful thanks to M. Le Chevalier Brouard and Mad'lle, and at one in the morning returned to Paris.

Feb. 17. Visited with Dr. Duplariel the Jardin du Roi and Cabinet d'Histoire Naturelle. Found elegant apartments, and fit for the purpose, and fine collections of fossils, woods, stones, insects, birds, animals, fishes and anatomical preparations and reptiles, in very good preservation. Very politely received by M. Dauberton, M. Le Comte de Buffon, and invited to dine with him to-morrow. A very fine statue of the Comte de Buffon (at the entrance) in fine marble, well executed and with well designed emblems. After which visited the gardens of the Arsenal and the Royal prison of the Bastile, a dreadful place.

Feb. 18. Called on the Ambassador, his Grace of Dorset; very kindly (as always) received by him, and requested not to leave Paris to-morrow, but to call on him again to-morrow forenoon. Took my place in the diligence for Calais, to set out Monday forenoon. With the Count de Crofton called on Mad. La Vicomtesse de Liniere. Found her *au lit*, but admitted and received most kindly and more. Showed her the rape I had made at the opera masqued ball (piece of the fan). She acknowledged in the greatest good humour the *identity*, and was much pleased that I had

kept it. Indulged me in the most lovely embraces and adieux, made her compliments and best wishes, said she would come to England in the spring, and would find me out then. Dined with M. le Comte de Buffon au Jardin du Roi. Most politely, honourably, and affectionately received by him and M. Panchenot, who dined with him. Honoured with many and great compliments by le Comte, and which from such a man are indeed more than compliments. Made me a present of one of the last proof prints of himself by N. P. Casson. Took affectionate leave of me, with his satisfaction in my conduct, and in seeing me; and gave me his best wishes, as did M. Panchenot, very politely, desiring that I would remember him particularly to Sir Joseph Banks.

Feb. 20. Called on his Grace the Duc de Dorset, and received a letter from him in my favor to the Right Hon. Mr. Pitt the Minister in England, first Lord of the Treasury, &c. Evening with La Comtesse, le Comte and Le Chevalier Crofton, at the hotel, rue Traversière. Very affectionate, polite and agreeable, like sisters and brothers ever since I have been here, and in a manner the least irksome and the most agreeable.

Feb. 21. Called on Mad. la Comtesse de Crofton, M. le Comte, and the Chevalier her brother. She has been as a mother, sister and friend to me since I first saw her. With the most affectionate and tender embraces, encore & encore, her eyes full of tears, bid me adieu, with her earnest request to return again soon, or to live with her ever. The good Comte would accompany me to the bureau, nor quit me until we drove from the yard, when, with the most friendly adieu and engagements to embrace again for me the fair Vicomtesse de Liniere, at half after twelve o'clock we set out from the rue Notre Dame des Victoires, *en diligence* for Calais.

Feb. 27, 1785. At a quarter past four P. M. I landed safe (thank God) at Dover.

Feb. 28. This forenoon Col. York, Capt. Campbell, &c., &c., officers of the 69th, did me the honor to come to Maurice's Hotel to pay their compliments to me. Dined with Col. York and the gents. of the 69th. Lt. Crofton delivered me a message from Sir Thomas Hyde Page, requesting to see me to-morrow forenoon. Mr. Young informed me that it was in contemplation to present me with the freedom of the city &c. This P. M., in my absence, Sir Thomas Hyde Page called on me. The officers and gents. at the castle very particularly civil and polite to me.

Mar. 1. Dined with Mr. Fector, his family, Sir T. H. Page, etc. Received very great and repeated marks of attention from Mr. Fector, the ladies, and Sir T. H. Page.

This afternoon received a message from Mayor of City and Corporation, assembled in Town Hall, desiring my company there. I accordingly

waited on them, and was informed that they had assembled and *unanimously* voted me the freedom of the city, and to be a Baron of the Cinque Ports; for which I returned many thanks to the Mayor and Corporation, and took the oaths accordingly, as usual on such occasions. I was informed that there were but seven honorary Freemen besides myself, that I made the eighth; that the Duke of Dorset, Lord Sackville, and Sir Richard Pierson are three of them.

Mar. 2. Breakfasted with Lady and Sir T. H. Page. After breakfast, Mr. Stringer and Capt. Walter, two of the Corporation, called on me, with their congratulations; and with Sir T. H. Page, Dr. Young, and Mr. Fector, I called on the Mayor, corporation and Common Council, with many thanks for the honour done me yesterday, in admitting me a Freeman and a Baron of the Cinque Ports. They again mentioned to me that this had not been done in the usual way by ballot, but that it had been done *vive voce*, having been *unanimous*, which they said was a very uncommon instance. Mr. Springer and Mr. Walton said my freedom would have been presented me yesterday in a gold box, if they could have found any trace or precedent for it in their records.

Dined at the Antwerp, by invitation, with the Mayor, Sir T. H. Page, and the principal gentlemen of the town. After, the Association Band of musick came to the Antwerp to pay their compliments to me, dressed in their uniforms, and with their instruments of musick entertained me for some time; then payed their compliments and good wishes to me, and retired. Yesterday the officers of the 69th came to pay me their compliments at my hotel.

Mar. 3. At noon visited the cliff and spot of our departure on our late aerial voyage into France. The recollection of it was awfully grand and majestick, and my heart filled, I hope, with sincere and grateful acknowledgements to the kind protections of that day. Oh, Gracious Father, may I be influenced by it as I ought through my life!

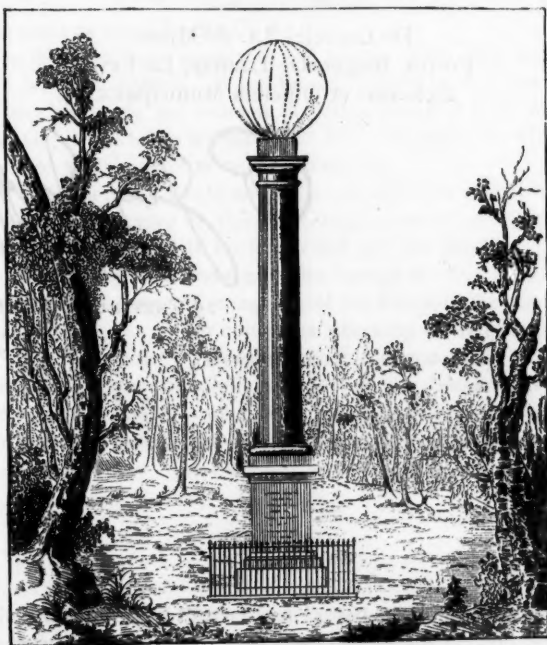
Mar. 5. At quarter after four o'clock, arrived, thank God, at Margaret St., Cavendish Square, London.

John Jeffries

Under royal consent the "Corps municipal de la ville et Comté de Guines" voted Feb. 17th 1785 to erect a monument at public expense where the balloon alighted in the forest. It still stands, but shorn of its cap and tablets, awaiting the repairs which it is hoped a centennial interest, &c., may secure.

INSCRIPTION ON THE FRONT OF THE COLUMN.

Regnante Ludovico XVI
Anno MD.C.C.LXXXV
Joannes Petrus Blanchard-Gallus.
Comites Joannes Jeffries. Britannus
Die VII. Mensis Januarii
Hora. Ia. Post meridianâ
Ex Arce Dubriensi
Machina Aerostatica
In sublime Evectus
Fretum Britanniam inter et Galliam
Primus superavit,
Ex post Horas II. S. Aerii cursus
Hoc in loco consedit,
Audaciam mirati Novam
Cives Guisnenses hocce Monumentum
Posuerunt.



THE COLUMN.

On the reversed sides of the column are engraved, on the one, the Arms of Guines, and on the other those of the Viscount Desandrouin.

ON THE OPPOSITE SIDE OF THE COLUMN.

Sous le regne de Louis XVI.

MD.C.C.LXXXV

Jean Pierre Blanchard des Andelis en Normandie

Accompagné de Jean Jeffries, Anglois

Partit du Chateau de Douvres

Dans un Aérostat,

Le VII Janvier, à une Heure et un quart

Traversa le premier les Airs

Au-dessus du Pas de Calais

Et descendit à Trois Heures Trois Quarts

Dans le Lieu même où les Habitans de Guisnes

Ont élevé cette Colonne

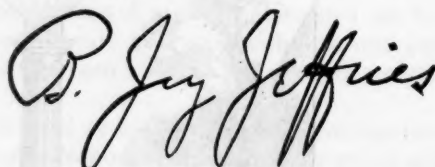
A le Gloire des deux Voyageurs.

(Signé)

De Guizelin, Lt. de Maire

Fortin, Berger, De Launay, Le Fevre

Echevins et Officiers Municipaux



15 CHESTNUT STREET,

BOSTON, MASS.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

EIGHT UNPUBLISHED REVOLUTIONARY LETTERS.

One from General Burgoyne, one from General Gates, two from General Heath, one from General Philips, one from John Hancock, one from John Adams, and one from General Artemas Ward.

Contributed by Ferguson Haines.

General John Burgoyne to Major-General William Heath.

Cambridge, Jan'y 17th 1778.

Sir.

Your Commissary Mr Miller has met Mr Commissary Clarke, and I enclose you the report made to me in consequence of that meeting, in order that you may see whether Mr Clarke has made any mistake, and determine whether you abide by the demand as stated by Mr Clarke.

I request the favour of your answer in the course of the day, and Mr Clarke will be ready to set out tomorrow. If you thought proper to depute any person at Cambridge to take his parole and examine his letters which at your desire will be very few in number, it will be an obligation to him; otherwise he will wait upon you at any time you shall appoint to morrow morning.

I submit to you whether it would not be a circumstance of convenience and dispatch for the officer that goes to General Gates, to set out with Mr. Clarke; if so, he shall also wait upon you with his letters and give his parole.

I take this opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your favour last night, repeating your call of the names, size, age &c of the troops of the Convention; my opinion of being changed. I am under the necessity of referring you to my former letter upon that subject; assuring you at the same time, that if you will point out to me the instances you allude to, where similar demands have been made by British officers, and complied with, I will give the matter further consideration and further answer. In Canada I know the case was directly the reverse.

I am Sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. Burgoyne.

P. S.

Since writing the above Col Chace has delivered in an account amounting to 13175£: 6s: 11d. commission money at 5 per cent included; and he informs me

that he has orders to demand the payment in hard money. I must desire you to let me know whether this is a determine you mean to abide by.

J. B.

(Indorsement on back of original letter, "last paragraph sent to Congress.")

Gen. Horatio Gates to General John Stark.

War Office 24 January, 1778.

Dear General,

The Honorable Congress having thought proper to direct an Ir-ruption to be immediately made into Canada, and their Design being, in Part, communicated to you, by the Hon'ble James Duane, Esq.r, I am directed by that Honorable Body, to acquaint you that for wise and prudential Reasons, they have appointed Major General The Marquis De Fayette first in command, and Major General Conway second in Command, who will act in Concert with you in promoting the Interest, and political Views of the United States in Canada. I am confident, from my knowledge of your attachment to the Freedom of America, that you will cordially co-operate with them in every measure conducive to the public service. My Experience convinces me, and the opinion I entertain of you and your associates, the General officers, upon this important service, induces me to believe, that the Expectations of Congress will be fully answered by your hearty agreement with, and officer-like assistance to the Gentlemen above mentioned. There is not anything that will more recommend your many and good services to Congress, than your implicit Compliance with their wishes upon this occasion.

I am

Dear General

Your most obedient

Humble servant

Horatio Gates, Pres't.

Major-General Heath to Major-General Philips.

Head Quarters, Boston April 16th 1778

Sir.

In consequence of a late Resolution of the Continental Congress, the Troops of the Convention are to be removed into the Interior part of this state. The

Royal Artillery and Advance Corps are to Hold themselves in Readiness to march for Rutland on Monday morning next. you will please to acquaint the officers of those Corps that any private affairs of the officers which request may be settled previous to their removal.

I am sir

your obdt serv't.

W. Heath.

Major-General Heath to Major-General Phillips.

Head Quarters Boston June 3^d 1878

Sir.

The 9th Reg^t must begin their march for Rutland on Tuesday morning next at Eight o'clock, of which you will please to give them notice. They are to take the same Rout and march the same distance each Day, as the last Division Did. If you wish to send a Quarter Master a Day or two before I have no objection. I think the Reg^t had best draw four Days Provisions the day before they march, and that Two or Three Days allowance be cooked for convenience on the Road. The Quarter Master of the Reg^t will pay attention to this and will also apply to Major Hopkins for such waggons as may be necessary.

I am sir

Your obdt servant

W. Heath.

Major-General Phillips to Major-General Heath.

Cambridge 20th June 1778.

Sir

Warm as I am in my resentments when I consider myself injured in the Character I hold in the British Army, I am also sensible of an obligation—And I am, therefore to thank you for the orders you gave for preserving decency and against insult at the Funeral of Lieutenant Browne.

I am Sir,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

W. Phillips.

[*Note.*—The above letter was written 3 days after Phillips' famous letter to Genl Heath of June 17, 1778, published in *Lossing*, Vol. I., page 594, and undoubtedly refers to the same officer (Browne) who was shot by an American sentinel, on Prospect Hill.]

*John Hancock to the Hon^d Board of War*Castle Island, 5th Novemb^r. 1779

Gentlemen.

The Return I made to your Hon^d Board of the Carolina Negroes, who are the objects of the Resolve of the Assembly with respect to Cloathing, was short by one man; he being at work at Dorchester did not at that time fall under my observation, but is entitled to the advantage of the Resolve. As I have rec^d a message from you that the Cloathing is now ready, & as the poor Fellows are suffering for want of the cloathing, I am to request the fav^r you will be pleased to deliver the cloathing to Mr. Salisbury whom I have sent up for the purpose, & I will myself see that the cloathing is properly deliver'd & I will then Lodge a Receipt with your Board in such manner as you shall Judge best.

I am with much Respect

Your very hum^l Serv^t

John Hancock

We are much in need of a Bell,
the old one being destroyed by
the British. I wish your Hon-
ors could furnish one.

Hon^d Board of War.*John Adams to Hon. Thomas Barclay.*

Amsterdam, May 24, 1784.

Dear Sir.

I am here to collect together the Bills and send them to you by Express.

When this Express returns, I pray you to send by him, my Trunk and all my Cloaths. The Books you will deliver also to him or his order to be sent to me. Will you be so good as to pack the Trunk yourself, and see that the Books, Papers and Plate are well placed and fixed so that they may not shake too much. You will send the key, by him too, if the Trunk is not sufficient he must purchase another, if Mr Ridley has the Trunk, he will consider this Letter as to him. Upon a second Thought, perhaps it would be better to take out the plate and bring it in a small Box in the carriage with the Express. There are 96 Pieces of it.

There are of the Bills 169 which I received of Messrs Freeman & Co formerly, and 375 which I received yesterday. As I have given them a Receipt for these

Bills it will be necessary for you to give me one. You have only to sign a Receipt at the Foot of the List inclosed, which is a copy of the one I gave them.

The 169 amount to 186472 florins

The 375 amount to 290780 : 13

total	544	total	477252 : 13
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I am with great Respect, Sir your
Friend & Servant
John Adams.

P. S. our Worthy Friend Mr Jay returns to his Country like a Bee to his Hive, with both Legs richly loaded with Merit and Honour. He has no doubt announced to Congress his Intention of returning, and this I presume will occasion some Changes in their arrangements, so that I dont think it probable I shall have occasion to go to Paris at all, at least I shall wait at the Hague their ultimate Directions. It is necessary for some one to be here, or our Credit will be in danger of running down so low, that we shall not obtain money enough to pay the Interest of what we have had.

J. A.

Major-General Artemas Ward to Genl Committee of Supplies.

Head Quarters Cambridge, June 18. 1775

Gentlemen.

I am in immediate want of large ordnance, a Quantity of powder, and small Musket Balls.

I am Gentlemen

Your humble Servant

Artemas Ward.

Genl Committee supplies.

MINOR TOPICS

AN INTERESTING BI-CENTENNIAL

TWO HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BOARD OF AMERICAN PROPRIETORS OF EAST NEW JERSEY

On Tuesday, the 25th of November, 1884, a notable assemblage filled the little antique City Hall at Perth Amboy, the occasion being one of peculiar importance. Gentlemen and ladies of prominence from various parts of the State of New Jersey and from New York were present, nearly all being descendants of the original proprietors who organized themselves into a Board in 1684. This Board opened an office in Perth Amboy as soon as it came into existence, and from that day to this annual meetings have been held in the ancient town. The two hundredth anniversary of the birth of this long-lived Board was celebrated with enthusiasm. The meeting opened at ten o'clock A.M., the present President of the Board, Charles E. Noble, of Morristown, New Jersey, presiding. An invocation was offered by Rev. Dr. Stearns, of Newark, New Jersey, and an eloquent and scholarly historical address delivered by the great lawyer, Cortlandt Parker, of Newark. The history of the Board was recited from its origin and personal descriptions of the men who composed it presented with pleasing effect.

At its close Surveyor-General Cook exhibited some old maps illustrating the boundary complications which agitated the people of New Jersey for more than a century. Professor Austin Scott then delivered an able and carefully studied address on the "Influence of the Proprietors in Founding the State." There were present Rev. Dr. Merrill E. Gates, President of Rutgers College; Rev. Dr. Demorest, Dean of the Rutgers Theological Seminary; State Senator Trist; Mr. and Mrs. Cortlandt Parker; Mayor Garretson, of Perth Amboy; William M. Force; Hon. James Bishop; Congressman John Kean, Jr.; Mrs. John Rutherford; Mrs. Martha J. Lamb; Amos Clark, Jr.; Hon. G. A. Halsey, Col. Charles Scranton, Archibald D. Russell, John A. Rutherford, Lewis M. Rutherford, J. Lawrence Kearny; Hon. Francis Tichenor, of Newark; John W. Hamersley, John Watts Russell, of New York City; Thomas T. Kinney, Silas Halsey, of Newark; Hon. Isaac Wildrick; John Jay Pierrepont, of Brooklyn, and many others.

An elegant collation was served by the ladies of Perth Amboy to at least two hundred guests at the close of the meeting. In a little brick building near the City Hall is a large quaint brick vault packed with the records of the Board, the accumulation of two centuries. This was visited by many of the guests and curiously inspected. It contained one deed dated September 10, 1680, signed by James, Duke of York. Two parchment deeds were exhibited dated 1681 and 1682. One of them bore the signature of William Penn, and was full five feet square, and each had large wax seals of the olden time.

CHARITY IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES.

In the early part of the last century there was a society in Scotland formed for the "Promotion of Christian Knowledge," or, as it was expressed in an old letter, for the "Gospelling of the Indians." Mr. Peter V. B. Livingston was the treasurer of the "committee of the correspondents" in this country to whom the money contributed in the colonies was sent, and by him distributed as ordered. The Indians lived in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York, but some old letters in my possession refer particularly to the Jersey Indians who lived at Bethel. Then, as now, "What to do with the Indians," was a problem.

In a draft of a memorial to the Scotch society, the committee here beg them to "petition the Board of Trade and Lords of the Admiralty to allow the Jersey Indians, who need more land for their hunting grounds, to occupy some belonging to the Six Nations in the Province of New York, but they add with much naivete that the Six Nations have formerly in their wars conquered most of the other Indians, and hold them in contempt, and these being Delawares, they fear they will not easily be permitted to settle among them unless special treaties should be made with the other tribes." Rev. John Brainard was the missionary to the Jersey tribe, who was located at Bethel. He was a very devoted man, making repeated journeys to Connecticut to receive the collections taken for his support in the different parishes.

President Clap of Yale College was appointed to account for the collections in Connecticut; a few extracts from the letters of that date will give a glimpse of the work proposed and difficulties encountered.

"To Mr. V. B. Livingston Treas.r &c

Sir

The collections in Connecticut for the Indians were ordered by the Assembly to be Sent to Mr. President Clap at New-Haven, and by him to be remitted to you, and the Correspondents at a late Meeting by their Committee voted that the collections should be applied to the Setting up, and carrying on of a Spinning School among the People of my Charge, and have appointed me with two others, to manage that affair. This is therefore to desire that you will please to empower me by a Line from under your hand, to receive the sd. Collections of Mr. Clap and if you think proper any other Collections made for the same purpose, that fall in my Way and let me be accountable to you for the same

No more at present but sincere and humble Regards to you and your Spouse from Sir your very humble Servant

John Brainard "

Eliz Town Oct. 2 1752

The Spinning School was for the purpose of teaching the Indians the use of flax contributions of which were acknowledged by Mr. Brainard. The Parishes in Connecticut were liberal, as will appear from extracts from President Clap's letters.

N Haven, Aug. 7 th. 1752

"Sir

The Contribution for the Indians in the Jerseys is likely to come out well. I have received about £500 from less than a fifth part of the Congregations. I wait orders of the Correspondents for the Disposal of it. I want 100 lbs of White Lead very much, and therefore took the freedom to send to you 10 p of 8 by Sr. Kettletas to purchase and send it in case any Opportunity should offer before Capt. Bradley went. I understand that Capt. John Wilson in the Brig Content, is likely to sail from New York to New Haven next week.

Your Humble obliged Servant

Thomas Clap"

In September, 1752, he acknowledges the receipt of the white lead, and says: "Above 30 congregations have not yet sent any contributions; I have heard that there is in one contribution of near £80 yet to come."

A year later, September, 1753, he writes: "In Nov. 1752 I Received the Contributions for the Indians £31³⁴ In Feb. 1753 I recd. £108 9. 10, since that, I have recd. £59 more, which in pursuance to your order I have with difficulty exchanged, 18 Rough pieces of eight, and sent them to you by Mr. Alexander. This is the whole of the contributions"——.

Perhaps, however, the following letter from Mr. Pierpoint is the most interesting. With the complete mail and banking facilities of the present time, and a uniform currency in all the States, it is difficult to realize the annoyances and trouble consequent upon sending a few dollars to New York. Mr. Pierpoint's apprehension lest the account was not strictly accurate, is refreshing reading, and savors of the days when honesty, truthfulness, and integrity were no meaningless terms. The letter is as follows:

Sir:

I had left in my hand by Mr. John Brainard a bond from his brother, who I understood took sme of ye money collected here for ye Indians, obliging himself to pay York money which he brought to me last June. But I not understanding how money past in New York, went with him to Mr. Cooke, who told me his way with broken money was, to ballance it with Dollars. So we put ye broken money into one scale, and as many Dollars as would equal it in the other scale, then counting ye Dollars found ye value of the broken money: Then I took the money with Ed Brainard's promise that if it should hereinafter appear that this methoed of reckoning was not right, he would rectify it when he came to see his brother, So I cancelled his Bond. Mr. John Brainard ordered me to remit the money to you when I received it, So I have attempted to do several times, but when ye persons came to see ye broken money, and to understand how I took it, they all refused to carry it, lest their honesty should be questioned, which I advised Mr. Brainard of, and desired Instructions from him, and a few days ago I received a letter from him to

send it to you, not being like to come here this fall, as he had proposed to do. But here I must inform you that at ye beginning of last Oct. Mr. Ebenz Poregarpon the Church of England Parson here, having a sudden occupation for some silver money urged me to let him have some of that money which lay by me and he would draw upon Mr. Paul Richmond, his correspondent and special good friend in New York to pay it to Mr. Brainard or his order, which he would immediately do; so I told him if he would take the broken money, I would presume to do it. Accordingly he took nine ounces of broken money which was almost all, also five Pistoles full weight, and fifteen Dollars

I took his note upon Demand, and now send enclosed his bill of exchange on Mr. Richmond, therefore, which I hope will be paid upon sight; but if not, desire you'd send it back immediately. I also send one half (Johannes?) fifty six Dollars, 2 half dollars, 1 French piece about as big as half dollar, 3 pistoreens, 3 half ditto, 1 shilling piece, 2 dutch bitts? 4 small pieces of silver about 3-4th. of a pistoreen in weight as I should guess, which is every mite I received of Brainard; I also send herwith Mr. Poregarpon's letter of instructions to Paul Richmond. Brainard's Bond was for £40 York money and ye interest £4.80; you see whether what I have sent amounts to it or not, and I desire you'd Inform Jn Brainard that he might settle ye matter with his brother So with regards to you and Spouse, I rest yr very Humble Ser't

New Haven

Nov. 31st.

1754

James Pierpoint

NEWARK, N. J.

C. L. RUTHERFURD

POLITICAL AMERICANISMS *

II

(Continued from page 566, vol. xii.)

[The first installment of these papers has called out so many comments and suggestions, that the author desires to bespeak further favors of the same description with a view to the eventual compilation of a glossary which shall be as full as possible. Information will be gratefully received regarding facts, phrases, and incidents of a political character, the date and circumstances of origin and first printed publication are especially desirable in the case of words and phrases. The author may be addressed Box 33, University Club, New York.]

BOYCOTT.—An adaptation from the Irish-Nationalists. Captain Boycott was an Irish landlord who incurred the wrath of the neighboring peasantry in 1880, and was popularly ostracized. No one would have anything to do with him, or allow any one else to deal with him. Hence, primarily, the meaning of the verb "to boycott" is to ostracize. It has been adopted in this country with the same general meaning.

BOYS.—This word is often used nowadays to designate the political hangers-on of a candidate or party; those who can be counted upon to cheer and be on hand in season and out of season, and who expect the small change of the campaign funds in the way of free drinks and the minor offices as their remuneration. "Heelers" (*q. v.*) has much the same meaning, but with a rather derogatory implication. It is safe to call a boy a boy, but to call him a "heeler" might involve an unpleasantness. "B'hoy" is a somewhat obsolete corruption of *boy*, but has a rowdyish rather than a political signification.

BROTHER JONATHAN.—A general nickname for Americans. It was originally applied by Washington to Governor Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut, on whose judgment Washington placed the greatest reliance. In perplexity he was accustomed to say, "I must consult Brother Jonathan."

BUCKTAILS.—A political faction originating in New York in 1815, which was opposed to the administration of Gov. De Witt Clinton. The members wore bucktails in their hats and be-

longed to the benevolent association known as the Tammany Society (*q. v.*).

BULL-DOSE.—In Texas and western Louisiana the "bull-whack" is a terrible whip with a long and very heavy lash and a short handle. It is used by drovers to intimidate refractory animals. The use of this weapon was the original application of bull-dose. It first found its way into print after the civil war, when it came to mean intimidation for political purposes by violence or threats of violence. Since that time it has acquired a wider significance, and may be used with reference to intimidation of any kind.

BUMMER.—Primarily an idle, worthless fellow. During the civil war, a camp-follower or straggler, especially as connected with Gen. Sherman's march from Atlanta to the sea. Now used in a political sense.

BUNCOME, BUNKUM, ETC.—Talking merely for talk's sake. The original employment of the word in this sense is ascribed to a member of Congress from Buncombe county, North Carolina, who explained that he was merely talking for Buncombe, when his fellow members could not understand why he was making a speech.

BURGOO.—A Southern and Southwestern term akin to *barbecue* (*q. v.*). The feast, however, was furnished by hunters and fishermen—everything, fish, flesh and fowl, being compounded into a vast stew. After this was disposed of, speeches were made, if the meeting was to have a political character.

BURRITES.—An independent political party

organized and led by Aaron Burr in 1797. Its existence was short-lived, terminating with Burr's overwhelming defeat at the polls the same year.

BUSHWHACKER.—In politics, as in war, simply a "free-lance."

BUTTERNUTS.—Equivalent at the North to "copperheads" (*q. v.*). It is derived from the popular name of a coarse brown homespun cloth commonly worn by Confederate soldiers during the Civil War.

CARPET-BAGGER.—After the Civil War, numbers of Northerners went South, some with honest intent, others with the hope of profit from irregular means. They were for the most part looked upon with suspicion by Southerners, and as they were generally republican in politics and affiliated with the freedmen at the polls, the term came to have, and still retains a political significance. It was unjustly applied in an opprobrious sense to many well-meaning men, but at the same time it admirably fitted the great horde of corrupt adventurers who at that time infested the South. Originally, however, a carpet bagger was a "wild-cat banker" in the West. A banker, that is, who had no local abiding place, and could not be found when wanted.

CAUCUS.—A meeting of partisans, congressional or otherwise, to decide upon the action to be taken by the party. The word is said to have been used as early as 1724 (*Gordon's Hist. of American Revolution*), and Dr. Trumbull of Hartford derives it from the Indian *cau-cau-as-ic*, one who advises.

CÆSARISM.—Those are accused of Cæsarism, *i. e.* imperialism, who favor the re-election to the presidency for a third term of one who has already held the office twice.

CENTRALIZATION.—The political creed which favors large powers for the general government as opposed to the limitations of State rights.

CHIVALRY.—"The Southern Chivalry" was a common phrase before and during the civil war. It was claimed as a proud title by Southerners and their friends, but has always been heard and used at the North with a shade of contempt.

CIPHER DISPATCHES.—After the closely contested Presidential campaign of 1876, the *New York Tribune* secured a number of telegraphic dispatches in cipher, which emanated from the

Democratic headquarters in New York. The key was most ingeniously discovered and the dispatches translated and published, implicating the senders in corrupt dealings of the most flagrant nature in connection with the bribery of State returning boards whose decisions affected the vote for president.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.—The correction of abuses in the public service, or more specifically, the adoption of a system which shall not permit the removal of good and faithful officers for partisan reasons, and which shall prevent appointment to office as a reward for partisan services.

CONVENTIONS.—The different parties in counties, States and in the nation at large usually hold conventions prior to important elections. Delegates are selected in the various local political subdivisions. National conventions are held for the purpose of nominating candidates for the Presidency. The delegates number many hundreds, and the votes are recorded as the roll of States is called from the presiding officer's desk. National conventions date back about sixty years. Prior to that time general nominations were made in Washington, the congressmen representing the two great parties meeting in caucus for the purpose. Increased facilities for travel made really national conventions possible, but it was many years before they attained their present perfection of organization.

COONS.—A nick-name for the Whig party during Henry Clay's time. In the campaigns of that day raccoons were painted on banners, and live specimens were frequently borne in processions.

COOP.—To "coop voters," is to collect them as it were in a coop or cage, so as to be sure of their services on election day. Liquor dealers are the usual "coopers," for obvious reasons.

COPPERHEAD.—As early as 1863, this epithet was to be found in the daily press, applied to Northerners who sympathized with the cause of the South in the civil war. The aptness of the name is apparent, when it is explained that the "copperhead" proper is a venomous snake nearly as deadly as the rattlesnake, but which gives no warning before he strikes.

CHARLES LEDYARD NORTON.

(To be continued.)

NOTES

AN ARTFUL YANKEE—Run away from Fish Kill Landing, on Friday morning, the 2d inst., a certain fellow, who called his name *Uriah Ford*, about 5 feet 6 inches high, 21 years of age, or thereabouts, well made, light hair and eyebrows, wears his hair sometimes hanging loose in his neck, and at other times has it tied with a false tail; his occupations are various, besides that of pilfering and stealing, he assumes the professions of a painter, carver, taylor, and sometimes displays his abilities with the razor and shaving-box; wore a round beaver hat bound with ribbon; he took with him two scarlet coats, one a short coat much worn, the other a long one quite new, the property of the subscriber, a camblet watch coat lined with green baize, fastens before with hooks instead of buttons, a pair of black calimanco and a pair of spotted velvet breeches, a pair of old fashioned saddle bags, with sundry articles in them, the bottom part of one end cut out. He also took with him a large dog of a yellowish colour, some white in his face, his name is Watch. Whoever takes up and secures the above described person, so that he may be brought to justice, shall have Five Dollars reward and necessary charges.

ELBERT WILLETT, jun.

FISH KILL LANDING, *June 13, 1786*

N. B.—Since he went off, I have been informed his name is Hungerford, it is possible he may change it again. He was born in Connecticut, at or near New Haven, at which place he worked at the

painting business with a Mr. Gardner.—*N. Y. Packet, July 3, 1786.*

PETERSFIELD

COLONIAL NEWPORT—*Newport, Rhode Island, September 5, 1763.* By a gentleman who arrived here a few Days ago from the Coast of Africa, we are inform'd of the arrivals of the Captains Morris, Ferguson, and Wickham, belonging to this Port, who write very discouraging Accounts of the Trade upon the Coast, and that upwards of 200 Gallons of neat Rum had been given per Head for Slaves, and scarcely to be got at any Rate for that Commodity. This must be sensibly felt by this poor and distress'd Government, the Inhabitants whereof being at this Time very large Adventurers in that Trade, having sent, and about sending, upwards of Twenty Sail of Vessels, computed to carry, in the whole, about Nine Thousand Hogsheads of Rum, a Quantity much too large for the Places on the Coast where that Commodity has generally been vended. We hear many Vessels are also gone, and going, from the neighbouring Governments, likewise from Barbados, from which place a large Cargo of Rum had arrived before our Informant left the Coast, of which they gave 270 Gallons for a prime Slave.

PETERSFIELD

AN OLD SCRAP-BOOK—I find the following "song," in the Scrap-book of a gentleman, who from 1780 to 1820 copied the verses he most admired. Having never seen them in print, I ask for them a place in your Magazine, hoping some of

your readers will know where they may
be found ?

"ORPHEUS AND EURIDICE—OR THE
POWER OF MUSIC.

I

When Orpheus went down to the regions below
Which men are forbidden to see,
He tuned up his Lyre, as old histories show,
To set his Eurydice free.

II

All Hell was astonished, a person so wise
Should rashly endanger his life
And venture so far, but how vast their surprise
When they heard that he came for his wife !

III

To find out a punishment due to his fault,
Old Pluto had puzzled his brain,
But Hell had not torments sufficient he thought
So he gave him his wife back again.

IV

But pity succeeding soon vanquished his heart
And pleased with his playing so well,
He took her again, in reward of his Art—
Such power *had Music in Hell*.

THE ANSWER BY A LADY.

I

When Orpheus went down to the regions below
To bring back the wife that he loved,
Old Pluto confounded, as histories show,
To find that his music so moved,

II

That a woman so good, so virtuous and fair,
Should be by a man thus trepanned,
To give up her freedom for sorrow and care,
He owned she *deserved to be damned*.

III

For punishment he never faltered a whit,
The torments of Hell had not pain
Sufficient to curse her, so Pluto thought fit
Her husband should have her again.

IV

But soon he compassioned the woman's hard fate
And knowing of mankind so well,
He recalled her again, before 'twas too late,
And said she'd be happier in Hell."

The same gentleman in a letter to his daughter, March 23, 1804, mingles with his family news something about literature and public affairs. After a long criticism on Campbell's "Gertrude of Wyoming," commending its "sentiment and sensibility," he says :

"I wish to entertain you with the news afloat, and information was announced to me last night that will be new and interesting to you. What think you of a new City ! to be built on the ground at Paulus' Hook, to be called the City of Jersey. The grounds have all been purchased on a lease for 999 years, of the Dutchman, the proprietor. This has been done by a company of gentlemen in New York. The lots many of them have been laid out, and many sold. The plan is to be similar to the City of Philadelphia, the situation is elegant, and the salubrity of it will induce to its settlement very fast. The prevalent disease of the present city, I suppose, has occasioned this plan, & I flatter myself it will progress very fast. I cannot but congratulate M. very much on the probable consequence of this measure. Most surely it will extend its influence to the increase of the value of property to all the country around, which depends on its trade thither. Our children will surely feel its effects ; and I am sure under very moderate expectations the Goshen estate, as well as mine, will before a great many years increase in a double ratio of value. This is not chimerical

but bottomed on very reasonable calculations. You will see all this business in the next paper."

M. M. L.

HAMBURG, N. J.

COLONEL HENRY B. ARMSTRONG, who died near the close of the past year at his residence, Red Hook, Dutchess County, New York, was the only surviving son of General John Armstrong, Secretary of War under Madison. He was born in the year 1791, and his early years were spent in France, where his father was American Minister to the Court of the first Napoleon. His education was received, as he told the writer, at a French military school, where he went bareheaded for years, hats of every description being considered effeminate. Before leaving France in 1811, young Armstrong frequently saw Napoleon and many of his marshals. On the breaking out of the second war with Great Britain he entered the army as Captain of the 13th Regiment of United States Infantry, and served through the war with great gallantry and distinction, having been severely wounded at the assault upon Queenstown Heights, and having shared in the capture of Fort George, the battle of Stony Creek, and the sortie from Fort Erie. At the close of hostilities in 1815, he retired from the regular army as Lieutenant-Colonel of the First Regiment of Rifles. For nearly twenty years Colonel Armstrong lived the retired life of a country gentleman at his home on the banks of the Hudson in Dutchess County, where his warm heart and genial disposition made him universally beloved by a large family circle and troops of friends. His mind and

memory were richly stored with interesting recollections of many eminent men whom he had met in the course of his long career of ninety-three years.

JAS. GRANT WILSON

NEW YORK, Dec. 5, 1884

OAT-MEAL IN 1758—The *Pennsylvania Journal & Weekly Advertiser*, March 10, 1758 [printed and sold by William Bradford, at the Sign of the Bible, Corner House of Front and Market Sts., where persons may be supplied with this paper at 10s. a year], contains the following: "Choice Oat-Meal and Grets made for the subscriber and sold at his dwelling House in Lombard St. * * * The known usefulness of Oat-Meal in preserving and restoring health in the Navy and Army, and among people in general where the use of it obtains, is sufficient to recommend it.

GUNNING BEDFORD "

HAMBURG, N. J.

M. M. L.

THE NEW ORLEANS EXPOSITION—The immensity of the World's Exposition is readily seen from the fact that there are sixteen exhibition buildings, one alone covering thirty-three acres of space and all together covering some ninety acres. To attend it will be the event of one's lifetime.

AN EXTINCT TITLE—The highest price given for Country Quills at No. 178 Water Street, next to the corner of Burling Slip, New York, by P. Byrne, Quill manufacturer and *Pen Cutter to Congress*.

Jan. 11, 1820

PETERSFIELD

QUERIES

DID THE FATHERS LAND ON PLYMOUTH ROCK ON FOREFATHERS' DAY?—*To the Editor of the Magazine of American History*:—On the 6th of December, 1620 (old style), a few of the leading men of the Pilgrim band left the *Mayflower*—then lying in Provincetown harbor—to explore the neighboring coasts. Their boat was ill-suited to the winter blasts of Cape Cod Bay, and on the evening of Saturday, Dec. 9th, (old style) they were glad to seek shelter on an island, now known as Clark's Island—in Plymouth harbor. There they passed the Lord's day drying their clothes and recruiting their strength. On the next day they set foot on the mainland somewhere inside Plymouth harbor, and then set out for Provincetown and the *Mayflower*. This "landing" took place on Monday, Dec. 11th, 1620. Now, where did the exploring party land on that day?

On the morning of Dec. 11th, the sun rose at about twenty-five minutes after seven, and we may suppose that they got to their work by eight. The (*computed*) *time of high water at Plymouth on that morning was very nearly nine o'clock*. This is a very important factor in the solution of the problem, for Plymouth harbor is to a great extent bare at low water. Either before or after they had sounded the harbor, and found it deep enough for the *Mayflower*, they went to land. Is it not more reasonable to suppose that—remembering the flats were covered—they landed at a most inviting headland over against Clark's Island, than that they rowed nearly to the southern end of the harbor? Wherever they went on shore they "marched into the land, and

found diverse corn-fields and little running brooks, a place (as they supposed) fit for settlement." This is all that we know of the doings of the exploring party inside Plymouth harbor on Forefather's Day; and could have taken place without their going within miles of Plymouth Rock.

EDWARD CHANNING

CAMBRIDGE, Dec. 1st, 1884

Who was the author of the following work? "An answer to certain parts of a work published by Mathew Carey, entitled 'The Olive Branch, or Faults on both sides,' by a Federalist." I. C.

ALLEGHANY, Pa.

GREY-COURT [xii. 569]—"E. M. R." throws very little light on the origin of this name, though he is better informed as to which Crommelin it was who purchased the tract than was the writer of the query. From E. M. R.'s information about the date of the deed from Ten Eyck (1704) I perceive it refers to the first Daniel Crommelin(e), the grandfather of the one I had in mind, and who was the founder of the Holland Banking house, well known in America. The latter person I had hitherto supposed to be the reputed builder of the Grey Court house, which, as I said, could not be. The elder Daniel came to New York in 1696, and of course it now is easy to see from the deed that it was he who purchased the interest in the Wawayanda Patent. This Daniel (1st) married a Mlle. Testart in Paris about 1674; he had a son, Charles, as E. M. R. supposed. This Charles mar-

ried a Miss Sinclair, of New York, in the year 1706, and by her had the son Daniel who, I had erroneously supposed, was thought to be the owner of Grey-court. But no matter which Daniel in fact purchased Greycourt, the point of my query was the origin of the name. E. M. R. would seem to assume that a Crommelin(e) named it. If this assumption is founded on fact, it destroys the legend given by the historian, Mr. Eager, that it came from a gray coat of

arms, gradually by a local process (similar to Grimm's Law) changed to Grey Court (p. 520 Eager's Orange County). Pointing out the error as to the original purchaser of the Crommelin interest, hardly meets my query, though I am duly grateful for this correction. May I now be permitted to ask on what authority E. M. R. assumes that Daniel Crommelin or Cromeline named the place, for this proof would solve the point of my query? HISTORICUS

REPLIES

SULKY LITTLE RHODY [xii. 567]—The note under this head speaks rather harshly we think, and it therefore may interest the readers of the Magazine to know why she was so "sulky" about approving the Constitution. From its settlement in 1636, the State of Rhode Island was, until 1728, in a bitter contention for existence with Connecticut. From 1636 until the present year 1884, a similar war has been going on between Rhode Island and Massachusetts—not a simple boundary dispute, but a struggle on the part of "Sulky Little Rhody" for the breath of life itself. You will see by reading both the Connecticut and Massachusetts charters, that they can be so construed as to include Rhode Island, and so as to be taken in by both these adjoining colonies. This contest passed on from one generation to another, and was a struggle of the severest kind. When the Revolution came "Little Rhody" had her part; she had in her capital city a powerful force of British soldiers, who stayed there nearly four years, and who succeeded in de-

stroying many fine buildings, laid the island desolate, and sapped the life-blood of her people. So well did the British do their work that it is a historical fact, that for thirty years not a solitary building of any kind was put up in this city (Newport). She received chastisements enough to make her "sulky." She went into the Revolution for freedom, and certainly history shows that no State did better service in that grand struggle for Independence. Coming out of this struggle, it is true victorious, with the rest of her sister colonies, yet like them sadly crippled in resources and with heavy losses in property and life, she found, that instead of having the freedom she expected, she was to meet danger (as she viewed it) from an unforeseen quarter. That is, if she joined the Union, or rather gave in her adherence to the Constitution, the larger States would take it into their heads to annex her to either one of the adjoining States, and this she had labored all her lifetime to avert. So it can be safely said that no State fought

more desperately, or more persistently, or stood out more "sulky" for her rights than "Little Rhody." When it was plainly made known to her that she should have her existence as a State protected, that she should have an equal voice in the Upper House or Senate with each of the large States, and that most of her twenty-one proposed amendments to the Constitution were there in spirit and intent, she yielded, and came in last, and so by her vote made the Constitution unanimously accepted by all of the original thirteen States. The compact has been carried out to the very letter. No pen can point out wherein she has ever faltered in her duty. She has marched as grandly to the step of the Union as the noble old Empire State; and certainly no one of the States is more generally beloved by all than is "Little Rhody," and no one is more often kindly mentioned by citizens of other States.

She is "sulky" but she is spirited, and certainly none of her sons need to blush for any deed of hers. We close by saying long live "Sulky Little Rhody."

JAS. N. ARNOLD

PUBLICATIONS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS [xii. 569]—A copy of the publication referred to by "Collector" is in the library of the New York Historical Society. It is an octavo of one hundred and twenty-two pages, entitled, "Observations on the American Revolution. Published according to a Resolution of Congress, by their Committee. For the consideration of those who are desirous

of comparing the conduct of the opposed parties, and the consequences which have flowed from it. Philadelphia: Printed by Styner and Cist, in Second Street, MDCCLXXIX."

W. K.

"THE OLD ROGER MORRIS PLACE" [xii. 563]—It was to this historical residence that the foot-note was intended to refer, and *not* to the "Beekman House, Turtle Bay."

W. H.

SCHOONER [xii. 474]—Schoon is a Dutch word, meaning handsome, whence the name perhaps, but certainly not from the Scotch or the American. Small vessels with two masts were called by the French *goelette*, and foreign ones *schooner*, or skunard. Scherer, *Recherches*, etc., Paris, 1777, mentions three skunards as building at Arkangel. The translator of Pernetty's *Journal of Bougainville's voyage to the Falkland Islands*, London, 1771, finds a schooner at Montevideo. Webster, 1828, derives it from the German, on the faith of a *Mar. Dict.*, as also Crabb, 1823. This question has been asked and answered before in the *Am. Hist. Mag.*, vols. iii. and vi., 1859 and 1862. Such a vessel called a *schooner* at Albany, in 1723, not long before a Dutch colony, *Mag. vol. vi. p. 221*, is enough to kill the New England story, which comes out every few years. In Baltimore, an English colony, they were called clippers, and they were built in the Bermudas and the West Indies. No marine dictionary in Dutch, previous to 1720, is known.

B.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—An interesting paper was read at the Society's stated meeting, Nov. 4, by Dr. George H. Moore, entitled, "A Summary Vindication of the Laws and Liberties of Massachusetts Concerning Attainders," in which he gave the results of some recent investigations of this subject, especially in its bearing upon the legal proceedings in the Salem witchcraft cases, a topic lately discussed by the Massachusetts Historical Society and the American Antiquarian Society. A copy was requested for publication by the Society.

On the 18th, the Society celebrated the eightieth anniversary of its founding, when the address on "Puritanism in New York in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," was delivered by Prof. Charles A. Briggs, D.D., of the Union Theological Seminary. This able summary by Dr. Briggs of our ecclesiastical history during the colonial period is printed in another part of this number of the Magazine.

At the stated meeting, Dec. 2, Ernest H. Crosby, Fletcher H. Bangs and O. Perry Dexter were elected resident members. The paper of the evening was furnished by Rev. Ashbel G. Vermilye, D.D. on "The Early New York Post Office and Ebenezer Hazard, Postmaster and Postmaster-General," a valuable monograph, exhibiting thorough and careful research, and adorned by the lecturer's characteristic grace of composition and charm of expression. The interesting facts concerning the establishment, early operation and progress of our postal sys-

tem were given in detail, and the great services of Franklin and Hazard in connection therewith justly brought to the notice and appreciation of those who enjoy this great branch of the public service in its perfection to-day. The post-boy of the past and the railway of the present were contrasted, and the dissemination throughout the country by the former of the stirring news of the battle at Lexington was graphically described. Availing himself of the ample historical material gathered in his research, the lecturer impressed on the minds of his audience a faithful and charming picture of the manners and habits of our colonial and Revolutionary ancestors.

THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting Nov. 18, 1884, Hon. E. B. Washburne in the chair. Judge Skinner, in behalf of the committee to prepare memorial notice of the late E. C. Larned, an annual member of the Society, asked for a postponement of the paper till the next meeting of the Society, which was granted. The librarian, Albert D. Hager, in behalf of and for Mrs. William Hickling, presented the Society a painted portrait of her late husband, who, at the time of his decease, was vice-president of the Society. The librarian reported the accession of 198 books since the meeting of the Society in October last. These added to former accessions make a total of 9,315 volumes, and 30,856 pamphlets and unbound books in the library.

The following officers were elected

for the ensuing year. For President, Hon. E. B. Washburne; Vice-Presidents, Gen. Alex. C. McClurg and Gen. Geo. W. Smith; Secretary and Librarian, Albert D. Hager; Treasurer, Henry H. Nash; Members of Executive Committee, Edwin H. Sheldon and William K. Ackerman. The report of the Treasurer was submitted and adopted, showing a balance of \$830.16 in the treasury of the general fund. The report also showed that \$2,000 had been set apart from the general fund to restore to the treasury the "Jonathan Burr Fund." The report of the Executive Committee, by E. G. Mason, Esq., showed that the "Lucretia Pond Fund" of \$13,500 was safely invested, and the income was being used in the purchase of books, etc., for the library of the Society.

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—A regular meeting of the "Oneida Historical Society" was held Nov. 24th, in Library Hall; Vice-President Ellis H. Roberts, presided, in the absence of Hon. Horatio Seymour, President. Judge D. E. Wager, of Rome, read an interesting and scholarly paper on Fort Stanwix, and the other forts of Rome. He stated that the first mention of the site which subsequently became that of Fort Stanwix, and of the present city of Rome, was to be found in the Oriskany patent, granted in April, 1705; and that in 1756 there were three forts at the "Oneida Carrying Place," and a fourth in process of completion. After the reading of the paper, other business was transacted, and instructions were given to the committee on publications to publish at once another volume of "Transactions."

The next meeting of the Society will be held Tuesday, January 13th, 1885.

THE ALBANY INSTITUTE—At the regular meeting, November 18, 1884, Rev. Dr. William E. Griggs, of Union College, read an able and interesting paper on "Arendt Van Curler, the Founder of Schenectady and of the Dutch Peace Policy with the Iroquois." While the French and English were striving for the mastery of the country, each was endeavoring to secure the Iroquois as allies. Van Curler stepped in and made peace with the nation, securing them as allies for the Dutch. He was a man of remarkable character both as a statesman and a scholar. After his marriage, he became ambitious to secure land in fee for his own posterity, and by permission of the Dutch governor secured from the Indians the large tract of land which now forms the site of Schenectady, becoming thus its founder. The paper closed with an eloquent tribute to the character of Van Curler, and was received with marked attention throughout its reading. Interesting remarks were made by Prof. Jonathan Tenny and Mr. Thomas Greene.

NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The annual meeting was held in November, at which a committee on publication, consisting of Professor Dexter, Professor Hoppin, Professor Baldwin and Thomas R. Trowbridge, jr., was appointed, and probably will publish a new volume of society records during the winter. Rev. Dr. Beardsley declined a re-election as president, and after a vote of thanks for his valuable services, officers for the ensuing year were chosen: President, Professor Simeon E. Baldwin; Vice-

president, James E. English ; Treasurer, Robert Peck ; Secretary, Thomas R. Trowbridge, jr. ; Curator, George Sherman ; Directors, Rev. E. E. Beardsley, Thomas R. Trowbridge, jr., Henry Bronson, M.D., E. H. Leffingwell, M.D., John W. Barber, Charles R. Ingersoll, Frank E. Hotchkiss, Charles H. Townsend, F. B. Dexter, Johnson T. Platt, E. H. Bishop, M.D., George Petrie, Henry L. Hotchkiss, James M. Hoppin, D.D., Eli Whitney, Charles Dickerman, Charles Peterson, Joseph B. Sargent, Charles L. English, T. Attwater Barnes, James G. English, Rev. E. E. Atwater, Ruel P. Cowles, Caleb B. Bowers.

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION OF NEBRASKA STATE UNIVERSITY—This organization held its first regular meeting at the chancellor's office in Lincoln, on Saturday evening November 15, 1884. Its special object is the study of local history, and the collection of documents and information pertaining to Western history in all lines. Its projectors are university professors and post-graduate students. Chancellor I. J. Manatt said that a university was not for the mere communication of knowledge, but for the extension of its limits and the opening up of new fields. "In a State like this," he continued, "where history is just making, a rare opportunity is offered for preserving it in accurate and attractive form. The State Historical Society has done some good in this direction, and for the future the headquarters of that society are likely to be at the University. Here scholarly methods and systematic persistent work would be brought to bear, and much greater results reasonably expected."

Professor Howard said the field offered by the two studies, history and political science, was a large one, embracing all that pertains to institutional law and to government, its social, political and financial aspects. History includes not only the history of nations and peoples, but the history of art, of science, and of language. Instructor H. W. Caldwell gave several felicitous illustrations of the admirable methods of work in a similar society at Johns Hopkins University, and of its advantages.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Its meetings of November 18 and December 2. On the first occasion Professor Franklin B. Dexter of Yale College read an exceptionally interesting paper on the "Diary of the Rev. Ezra Stiles, D.D." who was for many years minister of a church in Newport, and afterward President of Yale College.

On the second occasion Professor William Mathews read a paper on "William Wirt," who began life in humble circumstances, and climbed, rather than flew, to heights of honor. The speaker, after giving an interesting account of the career and character of the eminent advocate, said : "He began his life with a lofty idea, and kept that before his eyes all through. He won the highest honors in the profession. He became a polished writer, and won by his books, orations and addresses literary laurels worthy of his profession. He was conscientious in the discharge of his duties, severe as a critic, patient in labor, warm in his affections, faithful in his friendships, powerful as an advocate, and a sincere Christian. He left an example worthy of emulation."

BOOK NOTICES

HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT RYEDALES, and their Descendants in Normandy, Great Britain, Ireland, and America. From 860 to 1884. Comprising the Genealogy and Biography for about one thousand years of the families of RIDDELL, RIDDLE, RIDLON, RIDLEY, etc. By REV. G. T. RIDLON. 8vo, pp. 786. Published by the Author. 1884. Manchester, New Hampshire.

Some thirty-eight exquisitely executed steel portraits embellish this remarkably well printed genealogical work, together with twenty full-page views of houses and monuments in color, and coats-of-arms in gold and heraldic colors representing twenty different shields and crests. Upon turning over the pages we find the volume something more and better than a mere statistical record. Genealogy predominates, but historical and biographical sketches of prominent events and characters are numerous. There is one comprehensive article on heraldry, which enables the reader to understand the significance of the coats-of-arms; and another is devoted to surnames and changes of orthography, followed by a brief account of the Christian names peculiar to the families that form the chief subject of the book. In the preliminary chapter a succinct history of the ancient clan of Ryedale appears, in which its branches are traced from century to century, and from land to land whither they have migrated. The period covered by the researches of the author is more than one thousand years; and his pains-taking and scholarly labors have occupied fourteen years. The results are eminently satisfactory, and will be welcomed by a multitude of American descendants and family connections.

ARCHIVES OF MARYLAND. Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland. April, 1666—June, 1676. Published by authority of the State, under the direction of the Maryland Historical Society. WILLIAM HAND BROWNE, Editor. Square quarto, pp. 570. 1884. Baltimore. Maryland Historical Society. Price per volume, \$2.50.

The second printed volume of the Maryland Archives contains the Acts and Proceedings of the Assembly from the point at which the first volume closed to 1676. It also supplies the text of many laws missing from the Archives, through copies obtained from the Public Record Office in London. Mr. W. Noel Sainsbury has not only furnished the transcripts of many of these and other valuable papers, but has inter-

ested Mr. E. Maude Thompson, keeper of the manuscripts in the British Museum, who has searched that repository for additional material. The most painstaking care seems to have been taken to secure minute accuracy in copying the text for the volumes, and we are told that the copy has in every instance been collated, word for word, with the original manuscripts before going to press, and that in this collation the use of the lens was often necessary when the text was almost illegible from stains or fading of the ink. It is a meritorious work ably accomplished, and one that will prove most acceptable to the students of American history. The Committee of Publication in their report, October 13, 1884, pay a deserved and appreciative tribute to Dr. Browne, whose careful editorship has contributed so largely to the prominence and value of the publication.

THE CRUISE OF THE ALICE MAY in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and adjacent waters. With numerous illustrations. Reprinted from the *Century Magazine*. By S. G. W. BENJAMIN. Square 8vo, pp. 129. New York, 1885. D. Appleton & Co.

This delightful book should find its way into every household, as it is admirably adapted for the entertainment of the home circle. It is a continuous chapter of geographical information, vividly illustrated with maps and original sketches, and brightened with incident and story. Characteristic features of the towns along the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence are presented to the eye through the pencil of the expert artist, and the inhabitants and their manners and customs are deftly introduced to the reader with the author's ready pen, and in a manner so pleasing and picturesque that they will be apt to occupy a place in memory for evermore. Such works form excellent companions to text-books in the schools, and only need examination to be appreciated.

BOYS COASTWISE; or, All Along the Short By WILLIAM H. RIDEING. With numerous illustrations. Square 8vo, pp. 365. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Another holiday issue, although a book that will be attractive all the year around, is Mr Rideing's new story for the boys. There is so much knowledge to be gleaned from the author's clever narrative of incidents along the wharves and chats about pilot boats, ocean steamers, coast wreckers, life savers, lighthouses, lightships, canal boats, and other kindred matters, that the reader grows in wisdom without effort, and while fancy-

ing he is only entertained and amused, becomes really intelligent upon subjects which every one ought to understand. The description of the duties and perils of the life-savers is one of the best parts of the volume. The illustrations are pertinent and of special interest. The frontispiece is a picture of the boarding of an ocean steamer for news. In the closing pages we have two views of the Brooklyn Bridge; and a scene at Manhattan Beach, Coney Island.

VOCAL AND ACTION LANGUAGE. Culture and Expression. By E. N. KIRBY. 16mo, pp. 163. Boston, 1885. Lee & Shepard.

An interesting little hand-book just issued by the enterprising house of Lee & Shepard is entitled as above. It is not generally conceded that the art of expression can be acquired from the printed page; but with a good book the earnest student will undoubtedly make progress. The author gives a brief history of elocution, and happily alludes to the appreciation of the power of persuasive speech among the ancient Egyptians. The birth-place and early home of oratory, however, was in Greece, where it rose to the highest perfection, and from where its fame has spread over all the earth. In regard to the conditions for successful oratory, good health and a cheerful mind are among the chief mentioned. Dyspepsia and other infirmities easily influence the voice. "Occasion," says Professor Kirby, "must exist for splendid oratory as it does for heroism; but every speaker who desires to serve truth and who has something to say can make an occasion for usual, perhaps for unusual oratory." The book abounds in useful lessons, and will be an ever-present help to its possessor who has any tact or ambition for vocal culture.

SI-YU-KI: Buddhist Records of the Western World. Translated from the Chinese of Hiuén Tsiang (A. D. 629). With Map. By SAMUEL BEAL, B.A. Two volumes, 12mo. Boston, 1885. James R. Osgood & Co.

This work was prepared by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Hiuén Tsiang, from documents brought from India by himself in the seventh century. It embraces an account of his travels in that country and through some portion of Central Asia, and is full of legend and old-world folk-lore. It contains the best account of the condition of India at that ancient period extant, and being the result of personal knowledge on the part of the author, is of the utmost value, showing as it does the wonderful effect which the rise and development of Buddhism had on the old national life of India and neighboring countries.

The Chinese original, now translated for the first time into English, is one of the works included in the magnificent collection of Buddhist books sent to the India Office in 1876 by the Japanese Government. It consists of twelve Books, or Chapters, and the translation is included in these two volumes. The introduction and an elaborate index are the work of the translator, who is the Rector of Wark, Northumberland, and Professor of Chinese in University College, London. Speaking of the Buddhist literature of China, he says its discovery has had much to do with the progress made in our knowledge of Northern Buddhism during the last few years. The chief points of interest in these volumes before us are the references to the geography, history, manners and religion of the people of India.

KENTUCKY. A Pioneer Commonwealth. By N. S. SHALER (American Commonwealths. Edited by HORACE E. SCUDDER). 1 vol., 16mo, pp. 427. Boston, 1884. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The reader is requested by the author of this work in his preface to kindly remember that it is not entitled a history. The one main object has been to interpret the motives that guided the people in shaping the Kentucky Commonwealth. A full and faithful history would require the space of several volumes and much longer devotion to research than practicable in the present instance. It is not an easy matter to discern he forces that have made a people what they are. These lie hidden beneath the surface, like the functions of the well-conditioned individual body. One hundred and fifty years elapsed between the first settlement of Virginia and the settlement of Kentucky. The origin of the Kentucky population is so marked that the Commonwealth may with propriety be called the child of another commonwealth; Kentucky history goes back to the parent state even more directly than that of America to Britain. Such budding of a new state from an old colony has hardly a precedent in the history of America. The Kentucky spirit was the offspring of the Revolution. The most important element of the Kentucky colonists was from the soldiery at the close of the war with Great Britain. The various reasons which led to this westward migration are forcibly presented by Mr. Shaler, and among other important topics he discusses the interesting problem relative to the absence (at the period of its settlement by the Virginians) of resident Indians in the fertile territory of Kentucky, with its mounds, ditched and walled fortifications, and other evidences of extensive and permanent occupancy by a considerable population. He believes that the mound-builders were of the same race, of the

same tribes, as our ordinary aborigines, who have by various chances become somewhat changed in their habits. "The first Explorations of Kentucky" and the "Early Settlements" are the most valuable of the interesting chapters of the work—unless we may except Chapter IX. which deals with the adoption of the first constitution of the Commonwealth. An excellent map of Kentucky is a welcome feature of this concisely and well-written volume.

THE STORY OF MY LIFE. By J. MARION SIMS, M.D., LL.D. Edited by his son, H. MARION SIMS, M.D. 12mo, pp. 471. New York, 1884. D. Appleton & Co.

"Doctors seldom write autobiographies. They never have leisure and their lives are not so full of adventure or incidents as to be interesting to the general reader," writes the foremost surgeon of the age at the opening of the story of his eventful life, in which is narrated the origin and growth of those original and valuable achievements in the domain of surgery, which, by the general judgment of enlightened men, have stamped him as a benefactor of his race. Dr. Sims was born about ten miles south of the village of Lancaster, South Carolina, the 25th of January, 1813. He graduated from Columbia College in December, 1832. "I never was remarkable for anything while I was in college, except good behavior," he writes; "nobody ever expected anything of me, and I never expected anything of myself." Of his choice of medicine as a profession, Dr. Sims writes, "There was no premonition of the traits of a doctor in my career as a youngster, but a graduate of a college had either to become a lawyer, go into the church, or be a doctor. I would not be a lawyer; I could not be a minister; and there was nothing left for me but to study medicine." The father of Dr. Sims was grievously disappointed when his son declared his intention, as he held the medical profession in the utmost contempt. "There is no science in it; no honor to be achieved by it; no reputation to be made by it," was his emphatic verdict. But he finally yielded a reluctant consent, and the future doctor, whose genius and intelligence have since challenged the admiration of the whole scientific world, entered upon his studies. The path chosen was by no means strewn with roses. But like a heroic soldier the student pushed forward regardless of obstacles. His trials and triumphs are recorded in these pages in simple, straightforward language; and to all those who remember that as early as 1863, Dr. Sims had not only risen to distinction in his profession, but had received general and authoritative recognition, both in Europe and America, as the greatest clinical surgeon of either country, the story of his career becomes one of the most interesting on

record. It is to be regretted that the autobiography does not cover the latest twenty years of the eminent physician's life, but for all the purposes of a life-record it is sufficient. His professional fame rests upon his successful treatment of certain hitherto supposed incurable diseases; on his invention and introduction of surgical instruments which have advanced medical knowledge in certain directions to a point which could not have been reached in a hundred years without such aids; to his establishment of the Women's Hospital in New York; and to his valuable contributions to medical literature.

HAND-BOOK OF BLUNDERS. Designed to prevent 1,000 common blunders in writing and speaking. By HARLAN H. BALLARD, A.M. (Principal of Lenox Academy, Lenox, Massachusetts). Pocket size, pp. 60. Price 50 cents. Boston, 1885. Lee & Shepard.

The inelegancies and inaccuracies of speech that jar our ears daily, and offend our eyes in written communications, and in manuscripts intended for publication, would diminish in rapid ratio with such a hand-book as this of Mr. Ballard's in popular use. Many educated people are prone to carelessness in expressions without giving a moment's thought to the subject. Others cling from habit to words acquired in childhood, and would be shocked and chagrined to be accused of blunders—which are observed by every one but themselves. The little work does not offer much that is new in the line of rhetorical or grammatical criticism, but it is in an exceptionally convenient form for reference, and we commend it heartily.

THE CIVIL, POLITICAL, PROFESSIONAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY AND COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL RECORD OF THE COUNTY OF KINGS, AND THE CITY OF BROOKLYN. New York. From 1633 to 1884. By HENRY R. STILES, A.M., M.D., Editor-in-Chief, assisted by L. B. PROCTOR, Esq., and L. P. BROCKETT, A.M., M.D. With Portraits, Biographies and Illustrations. 2 vols., square quarto, 1408 pp. W. W. Munsell, 458 Myrtle Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.

The above is the very extensive title to a historical work of very great magnitude. There is no good reason why county histories should be produced in the patchwork and unsatisfactory manner which has hitherto characterized so many—nearly all, indeed, that have made their appearance within the past ten years. When projected

in the proper spirit and executed with intelligence, good sense and ability, they cannot fail to be invaluable to the scholar and treasures of importance in the household. Evidences of improvement in works of this character, we are happy to say, have not been wanting of late, and we now have the pleasure of welcoming the best county history that has yet been issued from the American press. We congratulate the Kings County public on an achievement in which they will ever have occasion to rejoice. The two monster volumes before us have been edited with conscientious care. Dr. Stiles seems to have borne constantly in mind the general scope of the whole, and the relations of its several parts to each other, and thus has been able to secure a nearer approach to harmony of detail than is usually found in similar productions. He was admirably equipped for the sifting and arranging of the mass of historical, biographical and statistical material through his former labors and experience in the same field. We find traces of the best part of his "History of Brooklyn" running through these pages, with much added information. His tact and talent in gathering personal and family history, and his happy presentation of the facts in their proper light and place, contribute greatly to the interest as well as permanent value of the work. One feature commanding special notice is the record of growth and development in all departments of material interest—as the industrial, manufacturing, commercial, architectural, the parks, the water supply, and the professions. The chapters devoted to the charitable institutions and the ecclesiastical organizations of the county would together fill a good-sized volume, and as they were prepared under the personal direction of the indefatigable and painstaking editor, their authoritative worth is assured. The history of Sunday-school work, the rise and progress of medicine, educational institutions, fish culture and the markets, are among the chapters to which we would direct the reader's attention. Chapters are also devoted to each individual town in the county, written by leading and well-informed men.

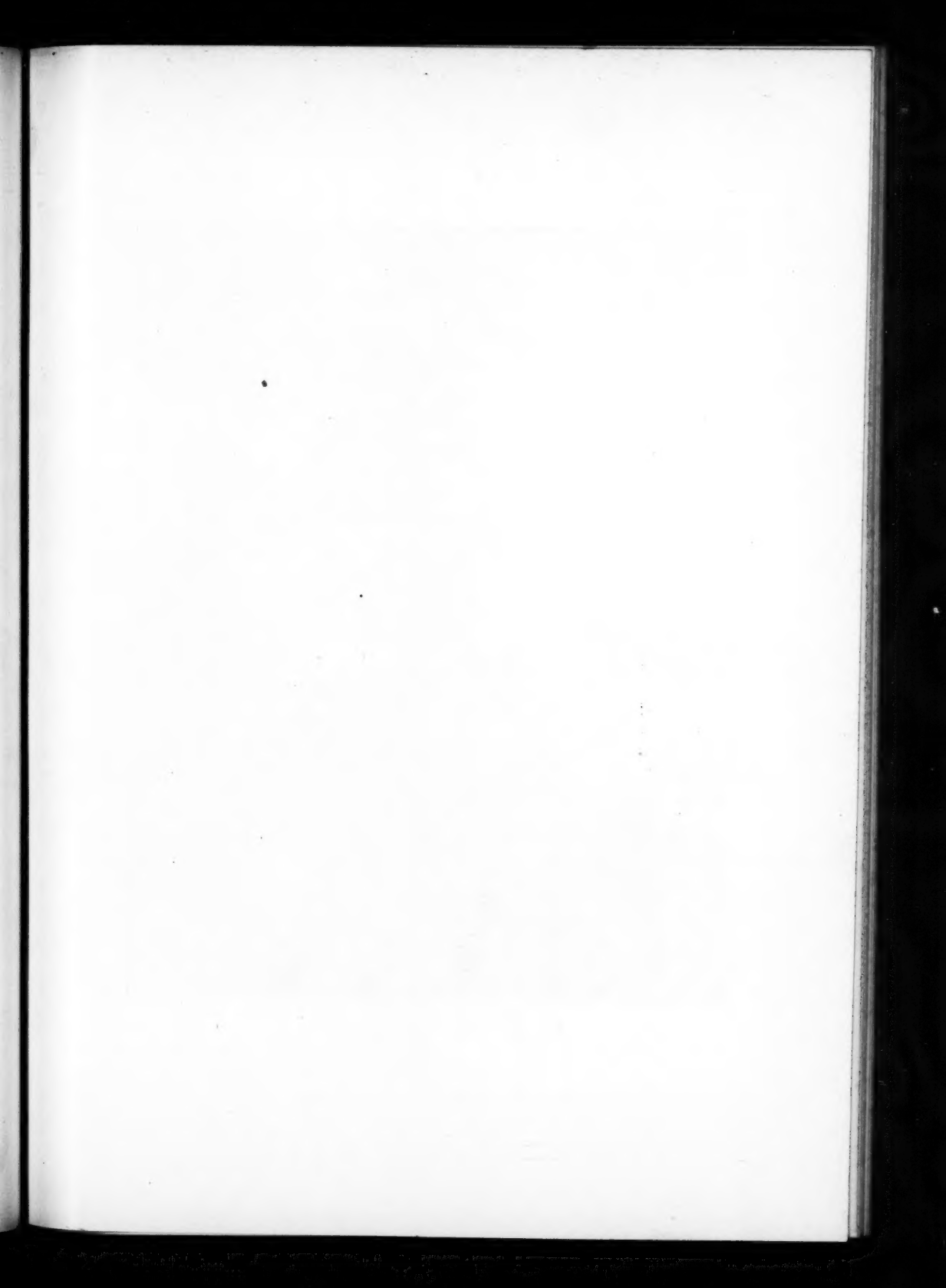
The volumes abound in steel portraits, many of which might be designated as choice works of art; for instance, those of the Hon. Henry C. Murphy, Henry E. Pierrepont, Hon. Seth Low, Hon. John K. Kiernan, Edward Ridley, Darwin R. James, Henry Sheldon, Benjamin D. Silliman, and A. S. Barnes. There are not less than two hundred and fifty portraits contained in the two volumes, and more than that number of other illustrations—including maps, buildings and views. It is to be regretted that each volume is not provided with an index and table of contents of its own. The inconvenient, old-time practice of combining the index of two volumes in one, particularly in a work of such magnitude,

ought to be abolished. We believe, however, that it was the original intention in this instance to comprehend the whole work in one volume. It is printed in clear type, on heavy paper, and is well bound.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF BAYARD TAYLOR. Edited by MARIE HANSEN-TAYLOR and HORACE E. SCUDDER. In 2 volumes, 12mo, pp. 784. Boston, 1884: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

We have in these engaging volumes a portrait of Bayard Taylor—the delightful story-teller, the poet, the critic, the lecturer, the editor, the man—which is as perfect as was ever traced unconsciously through the private letters of a busy writer. "Beyond any book of the time," writes one of Mr. Taylor's best friends, "this biography is a disclosure of the secrets of the guild, the hopes and fears, the pleasures and the pains of literature." Mrs. Taylor and her critical associate have selected with rare good taste and judgment the letters appropriate for publication, and such as best illustrate the poet's life and the beauty of his character. We can almost as we read hear the sound of his voice. The sketch of his career, with which the letters are tied together, is also intensely interesting. All who are familiar with the varied productions of Bayard Taylor's pen will be glad to learn of the conception and growth of those productions as revealed in these pages. His correspondence was by no means a literary exercise. He wrote as he felt, and of the matters uppermost in his mind at the moment, without a thought of his letters reaching the eyes of others than the familiar correspondents to whom they were addressed. He wrote, for instance, to Paul H. Hayne, in August, 1876: "I have been unsuccessful with your poem, as I feared. I am very sorry to announce this, but I am hardly surprised at the result since learning that this summer is the blackest period ever known since we began to have literature. The publishers say they never knew the like; absolutely no books are sold, and the papers and magazines are living, as much as possible, on already accepted material. I have not been so pinched pecuniarily, driven by necessity, thwarted in all reasonable expectations, for twenty years past. I have sent my wife and daughter into the country, but cannot go myself." Bayard Taylor was a man of strong personal attachments, noble, generous and upright.

ANNOUNCEMENT.—Among the eminent contributors to the February Magazine will be Dr. William A. Hammond and Rev. Ashbel G. Vermilye, D.D.





C. H. M. Johnson
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THE EARLY NEW YORK POST-OFFICE

EBENEZER HAZARD, POSTMASTER AND POSTMASTER-GENERAL

WRITING is old, and so is letter-writing. We read, for instance, in II Chronicles xxx. 6: "So the *posts* went with the *letters* from the king and his princes throughout all Israel and Judah." But what were these letters? It is very instructive, if we can, to trace the origin and progress of words. It is like striking a light, if it be only that of a match, in a dark place; it reveals the hidden surroundings. How much the ancient history of Greece and Rome has been enlightened and enlivened by this more recent method, which, by a glimpse here and there, enables the historian to reconstruct, as the geologist does, a dead and buried past! Thus the word letter, from the Latin *littera*, probably carries us back to the time when their writing tablets were smeared or covered with wax. How slow, tedious and costly the process, first, of fixing upon the wax, with a bodkin's point, the butterfly thought; and then, of conveying it to others! Hence, the men of letters, the "lettered Rabbins," for instance, were the learned and conspicuous few, who had access to written thoughts; the source, as they accumulate and have dispersion in the world, of all culture and knowledge.

These letters, then, were conveyed by "posts"—from the Latin to *place*—at regular intervals. Fancy one of those ancient mail boys clattering along from post to post with saddle-bags full of such tablets; or with lead leaves rolled into cylinders, as in Pliny's time; or tables of bronze, like that on which is graven the speech of Claudius, preserved at Lyons, in France! Luckily, time had not yet evolved the American Congressman, whose speeches, however much they afflict the mails by their number, have lost all weight!

That word "mail" meant originally just a spot, or spotted surface; was then applied to a net, with its spotting or mesh of holes between the threads; in turn, was applied to the chain-armor which covered and defended the knight, with its net-work of metal; and thence, passed to the iron bag which, at first, covered and conveyed the letters. The mailed